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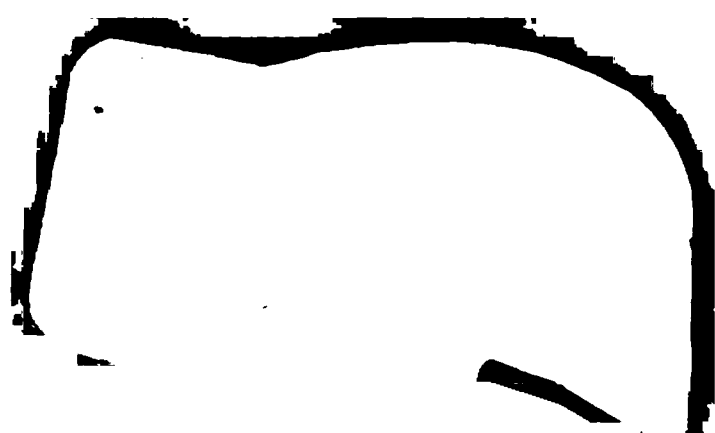
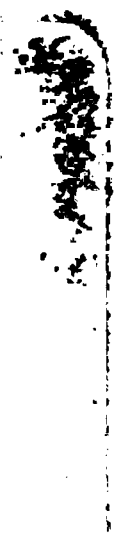
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HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
FROM
THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS,
COMPREHENDING
THE LATTER AGES OF EUROPEAN GREECE,
AND
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;
WITH
*A Preliminary Survey of Alexander's Conquests, and an Estimate of his
Plans for their Consolidation and Improvement.*

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL. D.

F. R. S. and S. A. London, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Historiographer to
his Majesty for Scotland.

Εκ μιν τοι γι της ἀπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθισης, ιτι δι ὁμοιοτητος
και διαφορας, μινως αν τις επιχοιτο' και δυνηθειη, κατοπτεισας, ἄμα και το χρησιμον και το
τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS.

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HISTORY

OF

THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER XXI.

Death of Antiochus the Great in Upper Asia. Deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes. The Decree for that Purpose. Information contained in it illustrated by History. Flourishing State of the Achæan League. Changed Maxims of Rome. War between the Rhodians and Lycians. Philip greatly extends his Power. Roman Commissioners at Tempe. Messenian War and Death of Philopæmen. Rivalship between Philip's Sons. Murder of Demetrius. Perseus defies his deceived Father. Death of Philip. Disasters of his Allies the Bastarnæ.

THE battle of Magnesia inflicted an incurable wound on the kingdom of the Greeks. Many eastern provinces had long been in rebellion; and in consequence of that battle, the western subjects of Syria were either intirely emancipated, or parcelled out between Eumenes II. of Pergamus and the maritime republic of Rhodes. Thus divested of just claim to his title of Great, Antiochus lost his life two years afterwards, in consequence of very unwarrantable measures which he pursued for raising the pecuniary contributions imposed on him by Rome. In this view, he bethought himself of rifling some of the richest of those temples which protected the money and merchandise belonging to individuals or communities. In the elevated region of Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, there was a staple or depository of this kind at the meeting of the caravan roads connecting Media with Persis and Susiana¹. This temple, which had been adorned² by the great Alexander, Antiochus determin-

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Antiochus
the Great
slain in
Upper Asia
—Accession of
Seleucus
Philopater
Olymp.
cxlviii. 2.
B. C. 187.

¹ Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8. ² Joseph. *ibid.*
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ed to plunder. His assault was made in the night: the guards of the sacred inclosure defended their idols and treasures; they were assisted by hardy mountaineers, ever ready and armed, in its neighbourhood; a blind tumultuary engagement ensued, in which the king fell³, fighting at once against the religion, the commerce, and the arts of his country. Before this event, which happened in the 53d year of his age and 37th of his reign, he had long forfeited, as we have seen, the praise of his temperate youth, by engaging in a mad career of unbridled pleasure. His behaviour at different periods of life stamp him with two opposite characters: at the beginning, strenuous and dignified; towards the end, weak and disgraceful. His two sons reigned in succession. The elder, Seleucus Philopater, at this time viceroy in Antioch, immediately ascended the throne: the younger, Antiochus Epiphanes, (I anticipate these surnames of distinction,) was now an hostage in Italy, and remained twelve years longer in that country⁴.

Ptolemy
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 2.—
cxlix. 4.
B. C. 187—
181.

At the demise of his father-in-law, king of Syria, Ptolemy Epiphanes had reigned eighteen years in Egypt, though only in the 23d year of his age. He had espoused Antiochus' daughter Cleopatra before the disastrous war of that prince with the Romans; but Ptolemy Philometer, the first fruits of the marriage, was born nearly six years afterwards, about the era of Antiochus' death⁵. According to a long previous treaty between Antiochus and those who, in the nonage of Ptolemy, administered the government of Egypt, Cleopatra, as we have seen, was to bring for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria, Palæstine, and Phœnicia. This treaty, however, was not exactly fulfilled. Its conditions as well as effects are very differently reported. Antiochus Epiphanes altogether denied its existence⁶: and according to the Greek historian of the times, the provinces in question remained uninterruptedly subject to Syria, from the battle of Panias, in the

³ Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 575. Conf Justin. xxxii. 2.

⁴ Appian de Rebus Syriacis.

⁵ Seleucus Philopater had just

mounted the throne. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 530.

⁶ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17.

seventh year of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, to an era posterior to the demise of that prince⁷. Yet Josephus relates that, upon the birth of Ptolemy Philometer of which we have just spoken, many principal men in Palæstine and the neighbouring districts hastened to Alexandria with their congratulations and presents⁸. Among these visitants, young Hyrcanus, the Jew, particularly distinguished himself, and gained as high favour with Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, as his father Joseph had procured, thirty-four years before this time, with Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice⁹. His alertness and pleasantry indeed were well calculated to succeed at the court of a young king, whose time should seem to have been spent between equestrian exercises and hunting on one hand¹⁰, and the merriment of feasting and buffoonery on the other¹¹.

Such are the inconsistent¹² notices which obscure the foreign transactions of this reign, while strong rays of light are thrown on Ptolemy's internal administration, by a monument distinguished among the trophies recently gained over France by British valour in Egypt. This is the priestly decree for the deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the ninth year of his reign, and when verging¹³ on the age of fourteen, his anacleleria¹⁴, or assumption of the government in his own person, was solemnly celebrated at Memphis. In a place, long the chief seat of the Egyptian hierarchy, the sacred per-

Decree of the Egyptian priests for his deification—information contained in it.

⁷ Polybius, xxviii. c. 1.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 527 & seq.

⁹ See above, vol. ii. p. 257.

¹⁰ Polybius, l. xxiii. 1. He was famous as a bull-fighter, and could kill a bull with a spear thrown from a strap.

¹¹ Joseph. *ibid.* p. 529. At table, one of the king's jesters, filled Hyrcanus' plate with bones from the plates of those sitting near him. The king exclaimed at his voracity contrasted with the abstinence of his assessors. Hyrcanus replied, "I am a man; dogs eat bones." Bull-fight-

ing and king's jesters! How like scenes I remember 30 years ago.

¹² The Jewish authorities, contradictory to the Greek, are not very reconcilable among themselves; since Palæstine and the neighbouring provinces are represented as subject to Seleucus Philopater towards the end of his reign, without the mention of any war or treaty that brought about their recovery. Conf. 2 Maccab. c. 3. & Joseph. in Lib. de Maccab. c. 4.

¹³ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36.

¹⁴ Literally the festival of his proclamation.

CHAP. sons of different denominations¹⁵ assembled from surround-
 XXI. ing nomes or districts, decree¹⁶ a statue to be erected to the young king in each of the principal temples, and near the king's statue, that of the peculiar god of the temple presenting him as defender of Egypt, with symbols of victory¹⁷. The idol of Ptolemy was to be duly worshipped: his shrine of gold adorned with crowns, and protected by amulets, was to be carried with the shrines of other gods in sacred procession: his name was to be celebrated by games and festivals; and the decree establishing these ceremonies, to be inscribed on solid stone in sacred¹⁸, in Egyptian¹⁹, and in Greek, characters, to make known the benefits received, in return for which the Egyptians honour and magnify the gracious king, god Epiphanes²⁰.

The benefits alluded to, bear reference either to particular classes of men, or to the whole inhabitants of the kingdom. Among those of the first kind are specified many acts of indulgence; enlargement to prisoners, release to debtors, acquittal to persons under accusation²¹. To the priestly order²², in particular, the king had greatly signalized his

¹⁵ Priests, prophets, scribes, &c. See above, vol. i. p. 47.

¹⁶ The Greek decree runs through 54 lines; but part of the last lines has perished with the bottom corner of the stone, on the left. The copy before me, perfectly correct as to form and size, was printed at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries, 1802. The inscription is greatly swelled by repetitions of the names and titles of the young king, its object; and those of his ancestors, male and female, and the priests and priestesses respectively ministering to them. The epithets of young Ptolemy are endless; "illustrious, munificent, ever living, the living image of Jupiter, beloved of Phtha," &c. See above, vol. i. p. 122. Without entering into the province of the antiquary, I may observe, that the title *αθλοφορ*, "prize-bearer," belonging to the priestess

of Berenice, wife to Ptolemy Euergetes, seems to me to relate to a passage of history recorded above, vol. ii. p. 100. and that the eagle of Alexander bears a reference to the penetrating views as well as lofty flight of that enlightened conqueror.

¹⁷ *Ὁπλον νικητικόν*. Inscription, line 39.

¹⁸ See above, vol. i. p. 48. Note.

¹⁹ *Ελληνισμοῖς*, characters of the country, that is, Egypt. There are accordingly on the stone three inscriptions; the Sacred, Egyptian, and Greek.

²⁰ Line 40—53.

²¹ Line 13—14.

²² In line 17, "Those belonging to the *sacred families* (See above, vol. i. p. 72, &c.) are freed from the annual voyage to Alexandria; the king also commanded *την συλλαβὴν εἰς τὴν ναυτικὴν μὴ ποιεῖσθαι*. This I considered as a prohibition "that any

bounty. According to his ordinances, the priesthood received its yearly revenues in money and corn, and its due proportion of produce from gardens and vineyards²³, at the same time that it was liberated from many imposts on its own lands payable to the royal treasury²⁴, and allowed an abatement of no less than two thirds in the quantity of fine linen with which it was bound to furnish the palace²⁵. The king, also, had surpassed his predecessors in munificence to Apis and Mnevis, and the other sacred animals²⁶: the temple of Apis, in particular, he had adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones²⁷. He had reestablished sanctuaries, shrines, and altars; and restored to pristine splendour all their costly appertenance²⁸. From his subjects at large, Ptolemy was entitled to the honours of divinity, by his defence of the kingdom against domestic insurrection and foreign invasion²⁹; his exact distribution of justice³⁰, the alleviation of public burdens³¹, the suppression of idleness and disorder³², and the general fitness of his measures for maintaining the fertility and salubrity of Egypt, and upholding national prosperity³³.

The nature and object of this decree make it liable to the suspicion of containing much adulation built on a slight groundwork of truth. Yet these priestly eulogies receive confirmation from history, which describes the wretchedness of Egypt during the profligate reign of Ptolemy Philopater,

Confirmed
and illus-
trated by
history.

one should be pressed for the navy among races of men peculiarly averse, as we have seen, to a seafaring life. In favour of this conjecture, my friend Mr. Weston cited to me, Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 513. & Isocrates συλλαβὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνει. Mr. Heyne, however, in the Gottingen Mem. vol. xv. translates the words "corrogatio in rem navalem." I think prehensio the more natural sense.

²³ Line 15.

²⁴ Line 15.

²⁵ Line 18.

²⁶ Line 31.

²⁷ Line 34.

²⁸ Line 35.

²⁹ Line 21—28.

³⁰ Line 19.

³¹ Line 12.

³² Line 19—20.

³³ Lines 11, 12, 13, *εις ευδίας ἀγαγὴν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατασκευασθαι*. "Piety and propitious seasons were inseparable." This and all other particulars in the decree perfectly accord with what is above said concerning the political religion of Egypt; its gods, priests, and ceremonies, &c. See vol. i. p. 73, 94, 106, 500.

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and come to the king at Sais to renew their allegiance, Ptolemy, in concert with Polycrates, violated his faith, and trampled with ruthless vengeance on his prostrate adversaries, dragging them at his chariot wheels naked, and then subjecting them to death with every refinement of cruelty⁴⁷. Such horrid enormities excited public execration; and a general rebellion of his Egyptian subjects was likely to break out against the "god Epiphanes," when he perished through the treachery of his Grecian friends. Insecure at home, he purposed to carry his arms abroad against Seleucus Philopater; but declaring too freely that to defray the expense of his expedition, he must have recourse to the purses of his courtiers⁴⁸, he was taken off by poison; and his queen Cleopatra, sister to Seleucus, assumed the government as guardian to her son Ptolemy Philometer, then in his sixth year.

Seleucus
Philopater.
Olymp.
cl. 1—cli. 1.
B. C. 180—
176.

Seleucus Philopater reigned five years in Syria, after his sister became queen regent in Egypt. He continued punctual in discharging the annual contributions due by him to Rome, and cautiously avoided any offence to that state by confining his arms and exactions to his own side of mount Taurus⁴⁹. Being apprised that much wealth was accumulated in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to rifle that depository. Heliodorus, coming well escorted for this purpose, Onias, the high priest, represented to him that the money in the temple was a sacred and inviolable deposit, belonging, much of it, to widows and to orphans. In defiance of religion and humanity, Heliodorus persisted in the design of executing his commission; but when attended by his guards, he presumed to enter the holy precincts to the treasury, such terrors assailed him, that he fell speechless on the ground, and remained in that condition, until his spirits were restored by the kind offices of priests, then ministering in the temple. He returned emptyhanded to Antioch, and protested to Seleucus, that he would do well to send any one

⁴⁷ Id. l. xxiii. c. 16.

⁴⁸ Hieronym. in Daniel xi.

⁴⁹ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 576.

whom he wished signally to punish on the same tremendous errand⁵⁰: a business fit to be committed to the *worst villain* in CILAP. XXI his kingdom. In the course of the same year, Heliodorus himself deserved this excess of reproach. The time had come, His death. Olymp. cli. 2. B. C. 175. it seems, for sending as hostage to Rome the son of the Syrian king in exchange for his brother. When the son, Demetrius Soter, had departed, and before the brother, Antiochus Epiphanes, had arrived, Heliodorus in the absence of these two persons the nearest to the throne, poisoned his master Seleucus in hopes of usurping his kingdom⁵¹. But the seasonable appearance of Antiochus with an army crushed, as will be shown, the traitor. Such were the events in the East during the fifth generation of Alexander's successors; and thus, for the space of fifteen years from the decisive battle of Magnesia to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, the affairs of Egypt and Syria, little interesting in themselves, were altogether unconnected with the great scenes transacting during the same space of time in Greece and Macedon.

In Greece, the degradation of Etolia had made room for the ascendancy of Achaia. The Achæans now united under Flourishing state of the Achæan league. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189. one government the seven states of Peloponnesus, while of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, eight formed republics apart, and Thessaly, the ninth, was divided into as many separate commonwealths as it contained cities. Achaia, also, at this time had a chief to manage its wars and counsels of indefatigable activity, and of zeal approaching to enthusiasm for the extension and fair renown of the Achæan league. Philopœmen had passed his sixty-third year; but this eventful climacteric had neither blunted the keenness of his exertions, nor cooled the ardour of his patriotism. His labours were equally unceasing in the council and the camp, for completing the great work which Aratus had begun, and combining the whole of Greece into one confederacy, cemented by a unity of institutions, and a perfect equality of freedom⁵².

⁵⁰ 2 Maccab. c. iii.⁵² Plutarch in Philopœm. & Po-⁵¹ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 45. lybius, l. ii. c. 40.

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In pursuance of this liberal policy, shortly after the Romans had taken possession of Cephallenia, Philopœmen, as pretor of Achaia, summoned the deputies of its several states to Argos instead of Ægium, on the ground that the national assembly ought not to be invariably confined to any one place, but, in justice to those composing the league, should convene in all the allied cities by turns, without any undue preference. This equitable measure was opposed as an innovation by the magistrates called Demiurgi, who availed themselves of the neighbourhood of the consul Fulvius in Cephallenia to apply to him for advice and assistance on the present emergency. From the intimate connexion that had long subsisted between the Romans and Achæans, and still more from the ambition of Fulvius in common with every other Roman, to extend the authority or influence of his country, he readily sailed to the Peloponnesus, but found that most members of the league had already obeyed the summons of Philopœmen, and assembled at Argos. He repaired, however, to this city, in order to abet the views of those who had solicited his interference. As the representative of a state in the most intimate alliance with Achaia, he was honourably received by the council, and partook in its deliberations: but soon perceived that Philopœmen's proposal for setting aside the undue prerogative of Ægium, a place situate at the extremity of the country, was so acceptable to most of the Achæan deputies, that it would be prudent to keep to himself the intention with which he had come of opposing that popular measure⁵³. He returned therefore to Cephallenia, not a little piqued at having undertaken a long and fruitless journey.

Perturbed
state of
Laconia.

But he was soon recalled to Peloponnesus by an affair of greater moment, which produced the last memorable struggles in Greece, and which finally terminated in the fixed and unalterable servitude of that country. We have seen how Philopœmen, after the destruction of the tyrant Nabis, joined Lacedæmon to the Achæan league, without compelling it

⁵³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30.

formally to relinquish the laws of Lycurgus, long an empty name in that turbulent city. The descendents of the kings of Sparta, with all their adherents among the higher orders in the community, had cantoned themselves along the seacoast in towns or villages, careless of returning to the capital, now occupied by a vile assemblage of low mechanics, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, and even emancipated slaves, calling themselves the republic of Sparta, and as such entitled to send deputies to the Achæan council. The more genuine representatives of that republic, inhabiting the southern shore of Peloponnesus, lived unmolested there, until a party of spurious Spartans, moved by the levity and rapacity natural to so worthless a people, surprised their habitations near Las, and wrested from them that seaport.

The sufferers complained to Philopœmen the Achæan pretor. He ordered restitution to be made, and the persons guilty of outrage to be consigned to punishment. Messengers were sent to Lacedæmon, bearing a decree to this effect of the Achæan council. The inhabitants of Lacedæmon, instead of giving the satisfaction required of them, immediately put to death about thirty persons within their walls, whom they suspected of secret hostility; and dreading vengeance for this new enormity, sent ambassadors to Fulvius in Cephalenia, beseeching him to come to their aid with a Roman legion. Before Fulvius' arrival, the Achæans were in arms; but the severity of winter hindered them from prosecuting the war with vigour. The consul enjoined a suspension of hostilities; and as an application had been made for the protection of Rome, exhorted all parties concerned, the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, the exiles, and the Achæans to send ambassadors to the senate⁵⁴.

The first of these descriptions of men eagerly obeyed his orders; the exiles committed their cause to the Achæans,

The Romans invited thither from Cephalenia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

Lycortas and Diophanes ambassadors at Rome—

⁵⁴ Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 10. Tit. Liv. xxxviii. 31.

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Their op-
posite cha-
racters and
contradic-
tory
speeches.

who sent to Rome Lycortas, a citizen of abilities equal to his patriotism⁵⁵, and father to Polybius the historian, whose fragments throw more light on this last period of Greek history, than all other records collectively. Lycortas was accompanied by Diophanes, a man at variance with Philopœmen and his adherents, and of a disposition to crouch abjectly to the Romans, because he envied his fellow citizens. The speeches of ambassadors, discordant in views and sentiments, were altogether inconsistent: Diophanes expressed himself as if the Achæans committed their concerns unconditionally to the senate: Lycortas asserted the freedom and independence of Achaia, appealed to the faith of treaties, and maintained, that no power on earth had a right to restrain his commonwealth from punishing robbery and murder. The senate replied suitably to such contradictory applications from the same people: its sentence was so perplexed, and couched in such ambiguity of language, that the majority of the Achæans, guided chiefly by Philopœmen, thought themselves safe in prosecuting the war, although those of the opposite party, and still more the Lacedæmonians, gave to the senate's decree a quite contrary meaning⁵⁶.

Sparta
taken and
obliged to
conform
to the
Achæan
laws.
Olymp.
exlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

Accordingly, when the severity of winter had abated, the Achæans marched against Lacedæmon, and threatened to assault the city, unless certain persons, whom they named, were surrendered to them. Upon compliance with this demand, the public defection, they said, should be pardoned; Lacedæmon might obtain peace; and those suspected of delinquency would not suffer punishment without having a fair trial. When the people at large, glad of being exempted from accusation, appeared to acquiesce in this proposal, the persons named made offer to resign themselves to trial, and repaired for this purpose to the Achæan camp at Compasium, accompanied by their friends and advocates. But it unfortunately happened

⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 9.⁵⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 32.

that Philopœmen, in this expedition, had been followed by a crowd⁵⁷ of Lacedæmonian exiles, who could not restrain their resentment at the sight of men formerly their retainers or slaves, who had driven them from their country, usurped their possessions, and robbed them of their wives and children. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of eighty, were either slain in the first tumult, or afterwards resigned to execution⁵⁸; and as farther negotiation was impossible after this breach of faith, Philopœmen assaulted and took Sparta; demolished its walls, which had been the work of tyrants; expelled the persons most obnoxious to him; and, according to a decree passed shortly afterwards by the Achæan deputies at Tegea, reinstated the exiles in their hereditary possessions, only requiring that, in the management of their domestic, as well as foreign concerns, they should conform to the laws and institutions universally prevalent among the other members of the league. By the same decree of his countrymen at Tegea, Philopœmen marched against a party of emancipated slaves, who had been the bloody instruments of Nabis and preceding usurpers, and having seized them in the fields, ordered them to be sold to the highest bidder. The money arising from the sale was employed by the Achæan council in restoring a portico in Megalopolis, the native city of Philopœmen. This portico had been demolished by the Lacedæmonians in the time of their tyrants⁵⁹.

By thus purging Sparta from the corrupt humours with which it had been infected for nearly half a century, the Achæans expected to render that commonwealth a quiet and useful member of their league. They despatched Nicodemus of Elis, at the head of an embassy to Rome, to explain the object of their proceedings, and to justify any severity that appeared in them, as necessary and wholesome. The senate, however, having previously received an account of the affair from some of those Lacedæmonians recently driven from their country, declared its disapprobation of the harsh mea-

This measure intimated to the Romans.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 1. ⁵⁸ Idem, l. xxii. c. 23. ⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 34.

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asures pursued by Philopœmen; particularly in the blood spilt at Compasium, in the demolition of the walls of Sparta, and in the abrogation of the venerable laws of Lycurgus, which, as they were assured by the exiles, had subsisted in that city for seven hundred years. Notwithstanding this expression of dislike to their conduct, the Achæans were not required to revoke any of their decrees; and the Romans showed so little inclination to break with them, that they employed their good offices in attempting to restore to Bœotia several expatriated Thebans, ancient partisans of Rome in the Macedonian war.

In this uncertain state, matters remained for the space of three years, during which interval Rome was disordered by those evils which too naturally follow in the train of prosperity⁶⁰. The Scipios were accused of peculation by those who envied them their supposed acquisitions of fortune. Triumphs were long withheld, on very unfair pretences, from Manlius and Fulvius. The virulent and endless debates on these subjects were accompanied by the discovery of the horrid abuses recently introduced into the rites of Bacchus; abuses which had spread widely, and which threatened to abolish every law of humanity and modesty. Such complicated and infectious mischiefs were however repressed by the virtue and good sense of the public at large. Manlius and Fulvius triumphed; the Bacchanalian seminaries were extirpated; and the evinced innocence of the Scipios made the animosity conceived against them recoil on their accusers. Yet the great Africanus, disgusted with the innovations at Rome, retired to his villa at Liternum, a hundred miles distant, and died there in obscurity⁶¹, having just cause to lament the altered maxims of his country; its degeneracy from the virtues of domestic life, and its departure from the generosity and dignity that had hitherto characterized Roman policy both at home and abroad. The victorious expedition

⁶⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 42—54, &
l. xxxix. c. 14—19.

⁶¹ Silentium deinde de Africano.
Id. l. xxxviii. c. 42.

into Asia may be assigned for the era of this fatal change, since the return of the legions from the East first imported a pernicious luxury into Rome; expensive furniture, high seasoned dishes, and other pestilent allurements. Then, it is said, were first displayed the soft refinements of effeminacy and vanity; apartments were adorned with the delicate labours of Babylonian looms, with brassframed triclinia or couches, with clawfooted tables and elegant buffets; entertainments were enlivened and prolonged by the performances of dancers and musicians, harping women and buffoons; and cooks, till then classed with the lowest of slaves, both in estimation and use, rose to the dignity of artists, whose skill was highly prized and amply rewarded⁶². Prodigality was accompanied by rapacity; and the progress of this history will show, what the partiality of Roman writers did not allow them to perceive, or at least to express, the sudden and extraordinary alteration that took place from the same era in the proceedings of the commonwealth with regard to its allies as well as its enemies⁶³.

For three years after the peace granted to the Etolians, the Romans, agitated at home by the dissensions above mentioned, were chiefly occupied abroad with their ordinary and obscure wars in Spain and Liguria. They maintained scarcely any connexion with their confederates in the East; Philip, Eumenes, and Ptolemy, the Achæans and Rhodians. They neglected even to interfere in a matter which deeply concerned their honour, the procuring for the Rhodians possession of those territories on the continent, which had been awarded to them for their zealous and essential cooperation towards

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War between the Rhodians and Lycians. Olymp. exlviii. 1. cl. 3. B. C. 188—178.

⁶² Livy, l. xxxix. c. 6. Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xiii. c. 3. l. xxxiii. c. 3, & xxxiv. 3.

⁶³ Till the defeat of Antiochus and the return of the Roman armies from Asia, the words of Cicero are not inapplicable to the dominion of his country. *Itaque illius, patrocini-um orbis terrarum verius quam imperium poterat nominari. De Offic.*

l. ii. c. 8. Less than five years after the battle of Magnesia, Posthumus Albinus, and other Roman magistrates, began to tyrannize over the allies of the republic, and to treat them with the cruellest indignity. Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 1; from which time it could no longer be pretended that the Romans promoted the happiness of conquered nations.

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the removal of Antiochus beyond mount Taurus. According to the treaty of peace dictated to that prince, the Rhodians were to obtain Caria and Lycia. But the natives of Troas, who gloried in the Romans for sons, and whom the Romans acknowledged for fathers, interceded in behalf of the Lycians as their ancient and hereditary friends; and the Lycians themselves, a highminded people, disdained to be bound by the humiliating concessions of the king of Syria. A war ensued; the Rhodians indeed prevailed⁶⁴; but without experiencing assistance, or even goodwill, on the part of the great western republic, to whose triumphs in Asia they had strenuously and signally contributed.

Philip extends his power; the Achæans—their authority. Olymp. cxlviii. 3. B. C. 186.

On the side of Europe, Philip and the Achæans had obtained the advantages which they had a right to derive from the discomfiture of Antiochus and the Etolians. By consenting to the resignation of all their conquests, Antiochus those in Thrace, and the Etolians those in Greece, several valuable districts and rich cities had suddenly changed masters. In cooperating with the Romans, Philip had driven the Etolians from a few places in Thessaly; he drove them from many more after the Roman armies had returned to Italy. He had also conquered the mountainous district of Athamania, between Thessaly and Epirus; and, being invited by domestic factions into Ænos and Maronea, Greek cities on the coast of Thrace, had entered them with an armed force, terminated their internal dissensions, bridled them with garrisons, and adorned them with palaces⁶⁵. The Achæans, on their part, had not been less busy in availing themselves of the favourable juncture to extend the influence of their league, both by arms and negotiations. The recent compulsion of Sparta to compliance with the Achæan laws, had completed their jurisdiction over Peloponnesus. Common animosity to the Etolians had again reconciled them with Macedon, their ancient and once useful ally. They maintained a most friendly

⁶⁴ Polybius, l. xxii. c. 7. l. xxxiii. c. 3. l. xxvi. c. 7. ⁶⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 23, 24.

intercourse with all the Greek kings of the east⁶⁶; Eumenes of Pergamus, Prusias of Bithynia, Ptolemy Epiphanes, who then reigned in Egypt, and Seleucus Philopater, who had recently succeeded in Syria to his father Antiochus the Great.

At the same time that Nicodemus of Elis returned from his mission to Rome, and reported to the Achæans, assembled in council at Megalopolis, the displeasure of the senate with their late proceedings at Sparta, ambassadors arrived from three eastern princes, and had their respective audiences in the diet. The report of Nicodemus was first heard; which produced no remark either from the patriotic adherents to Philopœmen, or from their profligate opponents. Lycortas then introduced the Egyptians who had accompanied him from Alexandria. He said that, as ambassador of Achaia, he had renewed the league with Ptolemy, and that the Egyptians had come to perform the same office on the part of their master; and also to present the Achæans with six thousand stand of armour and two hundred talents. The king's gifts were accepted; but upon the proposal of renewing the treaty, Aristænus, now pretor, observed, that many treaties subsisting with the Ptolemies, it was necessary to learn explicitly which of them, and what clauses were to be renewed. Neither Lycortas nor the Alexandrian ambassadors had foreseen this opposition; they wanted presence of mind to make an extemporary reply; and while they retired to confer among themselves, Aristænus had the mischievous address to darken and perplex the question, and thereby to prevent any immediate decision of it. He was assisted in effecting this perfidious purpose by the extreme jealousy which many among the Achæans entertained of kings, and which the partisans of Rome were industrious thenceforward to foment. Upon this principle, the ambassadors of Seleucus and Eumenes, though they renewed their respective alliances, had the mortification to see their presents rejected. Seleucus offered to defray the expense necessary for equip-

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Embassies
from the
Greek
kings to the
Achæans.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

How de-
feated by
the parti-
sans of
Rome.

And by re-
publican
jealousy.

⁶⁶ Polyb. l. xxiii. c. 4. l. xxv. c. 7.

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ping ten ships of war; and we are not informed of the reasons given to him for refusing that magnificent proof of his friendship. But Eumenes, having offered a hundred and twenty talents, the annual interest of which should be consumed in the convivial meetings of the Achæan deputies, Apollonidas of Sicyon spoke as follows:—"The sum of money that Eumenes would bestow on you, is not, Achæans! an unworthy present; but the motive of the giver, and the use to which his gift is destined, are repugnant to your laws, and unsuitable to your character. Shall those who are forbidden, even individually, to accept money from kings, render themselves collectively their stipendiaries? Retainers at their tables, shall we swallow the bait intended to catch our patriotism and honesty? Eumenes is the dispenser of largesses to-day; his neighbour and enemy Prusias may dispense still larger to-morrow. Will such donations have no tendency to distract our councils, and to divert us from pursuing the true interests of our country? As the views of kings and democratical republics are essentially and altogether different, it is plain that we must either sacrifice, on many important occasions, the good of the commonwealth for that of Eumenes, or incur the censure of ingratitude for counteracting so liberal a benefactor. It is my opinion, therefore, that we reject his bribes with marked expressions of scorn and hatred⁶⁷." The speech of Apollonidas was succeeded by that of Cassander, a native of Ægina, who had been sold into slavery, but had again recovered his freedom, and acquired by adoption into some hospitable city the rank of an Achæan deputy. "Cassander reminded the council how his island, once so respectable, had fallen into the hands of the Etolians in the Macedonian war, and how it had been sold by the Etolians to Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If the latter prince wishes to deserve real affection from the Achæans, he needs only to withdraw his garrison from Ægina, and reunite that island to the free confederacy of which it was a member.

⁶⁷ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 7 & 8.

The Achæans will consider the independence of Ægina as the most valuable present that can be made to them. They will accept of no other from Eumenes, which would only weaken the hopes which the Æginates yet entertain of safety and liberty." This speech was received with such general acclamation, as left no room for urging any thing further in the king's favour; and his proffered bounty, large and tempting as it seemed, was angrily rejected⁶⁸.

The Romans had signified their dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Achæans, and the abolition of the pretended laws of Lycurgus. But when they received accounts of the transactions of Philip in Thrace and Thessaly, they no longer contented themselves with simple expressions of displeasure. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was sent at the head of a commission into Greece, to hear all complaints against the two powers, which had disturbed the arrangements recently established in that country. Cæcilius crossed the Adriatic to Apollonia, traversed Epirus, and met Philip, with his accusers, at Tempè in Thessaly. The deputies from that province complained that Philip had possessed himself of Tricca, Phaloria, and other cities in their neighbourhood: that he had transported into Macedon five hundred Thessalian youths, and employed them in menial offices, disgraceful to their education and quality; that many towns which he had usurped were completely drained of their wealth and populousness; that Phthian Thebes, once the busiest seaport in Thessaly, had been reduced to beggary and desolation, with a view to bring all commerce into Philip's favourite harbour Demetrias; that even the sacred rights of ambassadors had been violated; and that the whole body of Thessalians, trembling in silence under a stern master, ventured at length to utter their grievances, only because they were em-

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Roman
commis-
sioners at
Tempè—
accusations
brought to
them
against
Philip.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

⁶⁸ Id. ibid.

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ed reply.

boldened by the Romans, in whose presence they spoke.⁶⁹ Philip, that he might not sustain merely the character of a defendant, began by recriminating. The Thessalians, he said, had usurped cities and districts belonging of right to himself, since he had gained them in fair war from the Etolians. They had even invaded his hereditary kingdom, and seized Petra in Pieria, and Menelais in Dolopia. That as to the towns which he possessed in Thessaly, they had been occupied with the consent of the Romans themselves, because their ill advised inhabitants had sided with the Etolians, not reluctantly, but voluntarily. On the same ground he had taken and garrisoned the strongholds in Athamania. The other charges against him were not worthy of a serious answer. Was it in his power to fix the fluctuating nature of commerce? Or could it be expected that he should come prepared to explain why different harbours were preferred at different times by the interest or caprice of merchants and mariners? He had been accused of violating the rights due to ambassadors, the sacred ministers of peace. He desired to know what had happened to those ambassadors; what injury had ever been done to them; or wherein had he infringed their privileges? All these were frivolous and false allegations of men who had no real grievances to complain of; and who, with the petulance of slaves newly emancipated, proved themselves unworthy of liberty, by injuriously reviling their ancient and indulgent masters. In uttering this sentiment, which reminded him of the dominion of his ancestors over Thessaly, and other parts of Greece, Philip gave way to his natural warmth of temper, concluding indignantly, "that the sun of all his fortunes had not yet set:" an expression regarded as a threat both by the Thessalians and the Romans. The latter, accordingly, pronounced sentence, that the king's garrisons should be immediately withdrawn from all the cities in question; and that, as to other matters in dispute,

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 25 & seq.

they would be settled afterwards in a court of inquiry, duly constituted for that purpose⁷⁰. CHAP.
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From Tempè the Romans proceeded northwards to Thessalonica. There, they were met by ambassadors from king Eumenes. Philip also repaired to the same place at the time agreed on. The point to be discussed was, the right of dominion over the Thracian cities Ænos and Maronea. Eumenes' ambassadors observed, that if the intention of the Romans, after wresting those cities from Antiochus, had been to declare them thenceforth free, the disinterestedness of their master, and his well known modesty, would not allow him to add one word farther on the subject, than barely to apprise the Romans that the gift of freedom, which they had so liberally bestowed, had been most injuriously intercepted. But if the senate, not caring to retain these conquests, meant to transfer them to their allies, a doubt, they hoped, could not be entertained but the pretensions of Eumenes were preferable to those of Philip. Since the Thracian Chersonesus had already been awarded to the former, Ænos and Maronea ought, as natural appendages, to be included in the same grant. These representations on the part of Eumenes were reinforced by some deputies of Maronea, who exaggerated the injustice and cruelty with which Philip had taken possession of their city. From the reception which their speeches met with, the king perceived that he had no longer any justice to expect. He replied, therefore, in a different tone from that hitherto assumed: "I perceive, Romans! that my differences are with yourselves, not with the ambassadors of Eumenes, or the deputies of Maronea. A few days ago, you stripped me of my fair conquests in Thessaly; you are now going to divest me of those places which I hold no less justly in Thrace; and Eumenes, at your instigation, sends hither to dismember and rob my dominions, as if I were your enemy Antiochus! I who strenuously assisted you in the war against that prince, although my interests were

At Thessalonica Philip vindicates his rights against the claims of Eumenes.

⁷⁰ Ibid. c. 26.

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not, like those of Eumenes, implicated in the contest. Had Antiochus prevailed, his neighbour Eumenes must thereby have been ruined. But my distant kingdom had nothing to fear on the part of Syria. Antiochus courted my friendship, desired even to purchase it at the price of three thousand talents, fifty ships of war, and the recovery of all those cities in Greece, which once acknowledged my authority. But respect for my subsisting treaty of friendship with you Romans! made me reject all such offers; and now, you envy me the possession of a few cities, which I have fairly gained, and which, though inconsiderable in point of intrinsic value, are essential, by their situation, to the tranquillity of my kingdom. The ambassadors of Eumenes appeal to your decree, for justifying his claim to Enos and Maronea. But the words of that decree are clear, positive, and expressly against him. "The Chersonesus of Thrace and Lysimachia shall belong to Eumenes." Is there in this clause the smallest mention of Enos and Maronea? But the main point, decisive of all lesser matters, is, in what light I am to be regarded. If you look on me as an enemy, continue to persecute and plunder me: but if I am considered as a king in your alliance, I deprecate, in future, such unworthy proceedings." The commissioners were moved by this speech; but their line of conduct had been prescribed by the senate. They pronounced accordingly, that if Eumenes' claim to Enos and Maronea were not substantiated by proper documents, Philip should be allowed to hold these places by right of conquest: that the Romans would inquire into this subject; and also into the fair pretensions of the two Greek cities, to the exclusive management of their own concerns, and absolute independence on either king. Meanwhile, Philip's garrisons must be withdrawn from them, that the business, without anticipation on either side, might be brought clear and intire before the senate⁷¹.

⁷¹ Ibid. c. 27, 28.

Cæcilius, and his colleagues Bæbius and Sempronius, having thus terminated their transactions with Philip, proceeded southwards to Peloponnesus, to execute their commission to the Achæan league. The principal magistrates belonging to that confederacy, were employed in celebrating the Nemean games, in the neighbourhood of Argos. Aristænus, pretor of Achaia, and through rivalry with Philopœmen, a ready accomplice, as we have seen, in the abasement of their common country, assembled at Argos his colleagues in office, to receive and answer the Roman commissioners. Cæcilius expatiated on the wrongs done to the Spartans, and strongly exhorted the Achæan council to procure their redress as speedily as possible. Aristænus made no reply, indicating, by his silence, that he approved what Cæcilius had said. Diophanes, another Achæan, leagued in the same profligate faction, acknowledged the cruel proceedings of his countrymen towards Sparta, and accused Philopœmen as the author and instrument of these pretended enormities. The same man, he added, had maintained a conduct highly reprehensible with regard to the Messenians. Philopœmen, seconded by his friends Lycortas and Archon, victoriously repelled the calumny; and the majority of the Demiurgi, or chief counsellors, warmly espoused their cause. Cæcilius therefore demanded that, as the Achæan magistrates were divided among themselves, they should convene the deputies of the people, from whom the sense of the public at large might be more fairly collected. But the Demiurgi refused compliance in this point, unless he could produce a letter from the senate, desiring such an assembly, and stating precisely the topics which it was required to discuss. Without a written communication from Rome, they told him that the laws of Achaia forbade any extraordinary meetings of their deputies. Cæcilius took offence at this opposition to his will, and angrily left Argos without even demanding an answer on the subject of his application⁷².

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XXI.

Nemean
games.—
Transac-
tions of the
Roman
commis-
sioners
with the
Achæan
magis-
trates.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

⁷² Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 12.

CHAP.
XXI.

Plausible
equity of
the Ro-
mans.
Olymp.
exlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

Early in the following year the Roman commissioners made report of their proceedings to the senate. They were accompanied or followed to Italy by ambassadors from Philip and the Achæans. The same topics that had been agitated at Tempè, underwent a new discussion; and the Achæans were enjoined to grant an assembly of their deputies in future, upon the simple requisition of a minister from Rome. The senate, in return, promised that its doors should be always open to the ambassadors of Achaia⁷³. The condition had a seeming equality, but the real difference was great; for the senate formed a standing council immovably fixed in one city, whereas the Achæan meetings were summoned occasionally, and circulated through all the principal cities in their league.

Philip's
enormities
with re-
gard to the
Maronites
and Cas-
sander.

While Philip had recourse to negotiation at Rome, his arms were employed in chastising what he considered as the revolt of the Maronites. Their calumnies against him were retaliated by the blood of their citizens: the agents in this stern vengeance were Onomastus and Cassander; the former his confidant, the latter merely a courtier and general; its instruments were Thracians, the fiercest and most relentless of his mercenaries. Philip entered Maronea, still reeking with carnage, and only peaceful because desolated. He had not remained long in that neighbourhood, when Appius Claudius, at the head of a new commission from Rome, arrived to examine whether the commands of the senate had been complied with. He reproached Philip with the butchery of men whom the Romans had deemed worthy of freedom. Philip disclaimed all share in the transaction. The calamities of the Maronites originated, he said, in themselves: "they had been the victims of internal discord; while one party espoused the interests of Eumenes, and another fought for himself; that Appius might learn the truth by interrogating the survivors among that unhappy people." Such testimony, he thought, might be safely offered, because, under the impression of his late dreadful vengeance, none of

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

the Maronites would venture to speak out, or even to raise a whisper against him. Appius affirmed that, in matters of public notoriety, no room for inquiry was left: if Philip wished to remove the blame from himself, he must abandon Onomastus and Cassander, the well known perpetrators of those deeds of horror. Philip replied, that as to Cassander, who indeed inhabited Maronea during the sedition, he was ready to send him to Rome, that he might submit to the interrogatories of the senate. But Onomastus had no concern in the matter: he had been employed at a great distance from Maronea, at the time when its misfortunes happened. By this distinction Philip saved Onomastus, who had been his accomplice in other unwarrantable transactions. He provided, also, against any information that might be given to his own prejudice by Cassander. Proper persons were sent after him, on his way through Epirus to the seacoast, by whom the unwary Cassander was poisoned⁷⁴.

From the altered policy of Rome with regard to foreign states, which began to take place after the defeat of Antiochus, Philip perceived that a new war was inevitable with the great western commonwealth. The period of fourteen years' peace from the battle of Kynócephalæ, had given him an opportunity, as we have seen, of extending his frontiers on the sides of Thrace and Thessaly, and had been far more usefully employed in improving the internal strength of his hereditary kingdom. He encouraged agriculture and commerce; greatly augmented his revenues by port duties; increased by judicious labour the productiveness of the old Macedonian mines, and successfully opened several new ones. Rewards or immunities were proposed for marriage and the rearing of children; and many robust Thracians were conducted into Macedon, to add to the stock of its industry in peace, and of its exertion, when necessary, in an obstinate war. As the Romans rose in the haughtiness of their demands, and showed too plainly an intention to rob him of

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XXI.

Improve-
ments in
the re-
sources of
Macedon.
Olymp.
cxlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

⁷⁴ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 13.

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his kingdom, all these preparations for defence were carried on more vigorously: Philip, by well conducted expeditions to the north, extended his renown to the nations beyond the Danube; and entered into treaty with the bravest of the Scythian or Gothic tribes, for invading Italy by the way of the Carnian and Rhetian Alps, if the Romans should persevere in what seemed to be their purpose, of renewing hostilities against him in Greece and Macedon. But, as he knew by fatal experience the dangers of such a warfare he was willing to procrastinate it to the latest period possible; and accordingly despatched to Rome his younger son Demetrius, whose merit, while a hostage there, had made many personal friends, and who had gained the affections of all by his modest yet dignified behaviour⁷⁵.

Appius
Claudius at
Cleitor.
Affecting
speech of
Lycortas
the Achæ-
an pretor.
Olymp.
cxlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

Meanwhile, Appius Claudius, at the head of the Roman commission, proceeded from Macedon to Achaia. The Achæan magistrates had been informed of their coming, and at the same time had learned, with surprise and indignation, that the jealousies of the Romans against themselves had been envenomed by Areus and Alcibiades, two Lacedæmonian exiles, whom the Achæans had reinstated in their rank, their property and their country. Lycortas, now pretor, summoned the Achæan diet to Cleitor in Arcadia. When the deputies heard, that the resentment of the Romans had been exasperated against them by the calumnies of men who owed every thing to their bounty, of fugitives to whom they had again restored their homes, and whose wickedness, at the moment when they received so high a favour, had excited the massacre at Compasium, and all the evils consequent on that enormity, the maxims of policy as well as justice gave way to unbridled anger, and the Achæans, with one voice, condemned Areus and Alcibiades to death. A few days after this sentence had passed, Appius arrived at Cleitor, carrying the persons recently condemned in his train. At his desire a council was assembled next day. He repeated the absurd complaints concerning the abolition of the laws of Ly-

⁷⁵ Tit. Liv. xxxix. 34.

curgus, and the destruction of the walls of Sparta; laws of equal liberty, that had long been abolished, and walls that had been built by a succession of sanguinary usurpers, to rivet the chains of their country. Appius demanded, however, ~~that~~ these grievances should be removed, and the affairs of Lacedæmon placed on their ancient footing. Lycortas answered him in a speech worthy of the best ages of Greece. He showed, that when Lacedæmon was deformed by the complicated evils of faction and tyranny, the Achæans had joined that unfortunate city to their league; and that, after its repeated revolts, the Achæans had imposed on it, when conquered, no other laws than those which the conquerors obeyed. Having discussed these points perspicuously and convincingly, the orator, as if ashamed to plead the rights of an independent commonwealth before unfair and self-constituted judges, assumed a bolder tone: "I feel, Appius, that this discourse of mine is fitter for slaves in the presence of masters, than for allies before their equal confederates. If the liberties of Greece are not an empty name, why should I render to you an account of the proceedings of Achaia after the conquest of Sparta, rather than require you to justify, before this tribunal, the cruelties committed by the Romans upon the taking of Capua? We slew, I shall suppose the fact, some Lacedæmonian exiles: Did not you behead the whole body of Capuan senators? The walls of Sparta have been levelled with the ground: Were you contented with merely dismantling Capua? Did you not drive its inhabitants from their houses and their fields? The alliance, you say, between the Romans and Achæans, is equal only in appearance; for the Romans have the power of the sword. I know it, Appius, and since I must, *will* suppress my indignation. But whatever difference fortune has made between us, I intreat you not to prefer our and your enemies, to ancient and faithful allies; nor, for the sake of the pretended liberty of Sparta, to undermine that league, which we have sworn to uphold. We respect you Romans! nay, fear you, if you will so have it; but

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we fear and venerate still more the immortal gods ⁷⁶." This discourse was received with such general applause, that Appius despaired of success by gentle means. He therefore intimated that force would be used, if persuasion were found ineffectual. He was answered by a groan of despair. The Achæans then implored him not to extort from them a decree, by which they would violate their oaths: they rescinded their condemnation of Areus and Alcibiades; but as to the changes to be made in the laws and government of Sparta, desired that the Romans only might be their authors ⁷⁷.

Philip's
son, Deme-
trius, at
Rome. His
confusion
in the se-
nate.
Olymp.
exlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

In the year following, there was a greater concourse of foreign ambassadors at Rome, than had ever before assembled in that city; for when it came to be understood that the senate heard with complacence the accusers of Philip, there was not a kingdom, nor a commonwealth, scarcely a city in his neighbourhood, that did not carry to that tribunal many grievous complaints against him. Upon an occasion when the young Demetrius had to reply on the part of his father, and seemed perplexed at once with the intricate variety of charges and the multitude of accusers, the magistrate, presiding in the senate, asked him whether he had not received his instructions in writing? He answered in the affirmative, and produced a small book containing the heads of every business that was likely to occur, with the grounds of Philip's proceedings concisely and clearly stated. To relieve from embarrassment a youth for whom the senate felt or affected such strong partiality, but still more with a view to penetrate the real designs of Philip, Demetrius was desired to answer the charges, as successively made, from the book in his hand. In pursuance of this method, the inexperienced negotiator read many clauses which he ought in prudence to have suppressed. "In this point the Romans showed no inclination to do me justice:" and again, "on this occasion, Cæcilius or

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 35, 36, 37.

⁷⁷ Id. c. 37.

Appius, treated me with indignity." The senate carefully treasured up these marks of a hostile mind in the king, but answered Demetrius, who would have excused them, with all the tranquillizing mildness of the most insidious policy.

"That Philip, whatever may have been his conduct, had highly gratified the Romans in sending Demetrius at the head of his embassy. From affection to this young prince, whose heart had remained a hostage at Rome, after his person had been restored to Macedon, they were willing to dissemble their wrongs; to forget, to forgive, and to endure many injuries. That, out of honour to Demetrius, a new commission should be sent into Macedon, to effect amicably what yet might be done, without any vindictive retrospect to preceding omissions. They wished, however, Philip to understand, that he owed to Demetrius, solely, this favourable disposition toward him ⁷⁸." In this manner the Romans began to flatter the sons of kings, that they might more surely ruin their fathers!

The policy of Rome, with regard to Achaia, was marked by the same mischievous artifices. To weaken that confederacy, the Spartan rebels were to be reinstated in the benefits, of which Philopœmen was said to have deprived them: the incendiaries, whom he had banished, were to return home, and Lacedæmon was again to enjoy the pretended laws of Lycurgus, though in other respects it remained a member of the Achæan league. A decree of the senate passed to this effect; and Quintius Martius, who was sent as ambassador to Philip, had orders to proceed also to Peloponnesus, in order to make sure that the will of the Romans should be obeyed. Next to Lacedæmon, her ancient rival Messene, gave most trouble to the confederacy, of which all the seven states of Peloponnesus had become members. The mutinous temper of the Messenians was fomented by their general Deinocrates, a man of insinuation and address, alike fitted for the court

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Partiality
shown to
him with a
view to in-
jure his
father.

Deinocra-
tes the
Messenian
—his sub-
serviency
to the am-
bition of
Rome.

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. id. c. 47. and Polybius, xxiv. 2.

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and the camp, but profligate in private life, and altogether regardless of the true interest of his country. In the hope of promoting his views, he had gone to Rome, where the accusers of the Achæans, as well as of Philip, were well assured of meeting with a favourable reception. He found that the celebrated Quintius Flaminius, who first broke the power of Macedon in the battle of Kynocephalæ, was commissioned by the senate to proceed to Lesser Asia, that he might settle some differences between Eumenes and Prusias. To that general, whom he had formerly known and courted in Greece, Deinocrates applied as to the man most able to serve him, and who was likely to be well disposed with regard to the main point of separating Messenia from the Achæan league, on account of some disgust which he was said to have taken, not so much at the personal pride, as at the haughty patriotism of Philopœmen. Amidst intrigues, in pursuance of his favourite object, Deinocrates continued, even at Rome, his careless and dissolute mode of life: drinking and revelry formed his delights; musicians and buffoons were his companions: in the presence of Flaminius himself, he blushed not to dance, at a festive supper, drest in female attire. The Roman allowed his levity to pass unnoticed for the moment; but told him, next day, that such airy and ludicrous motions ill became a man busy in stirring up the most serious commotions in Greece⁷⁹. In his way through that country to Pergamus and Bithynia, Flaminius, accompanied by Deinocrates, wrote to the Achæans from Naupactus, desiring that they would speedily summon a council, and give him a hearing. But the Achæan magistrates, who knew that he had been sent on a commission not relating to their affairs, refused to comply, unless he would state distinctly the demands which he meant to make. Flaminius rejected this condition as inconsistent with the dignity of Rome, and the de-

Flaminius
takes of-
fence at the
Achæans.

⁷⁹ Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 5. The wit of Flaminius did not despise a pun.

crees of the senate; and proceeding on his journey to Lesser Asia, reconciled Eumenes and Prusias with each other, and the latter of those princes with the Romans: the death of Hannibal, as we have before seen, concluded and sealed this disgraceful negotiation⁸⁰.

The historian Livy, who has embellished with consummate art the trophies of his country, declines to enter into the causes and events of the Messenian war, on the ground, that they would lead him too wide of his subject. It may be suspected, however, that he did not deem the perfidious policy of Rome a fit subject for a Roman pen; and was unwilling to relate, how the countenance shown by the senate to Deinocrates, and the interest which even Flaminius appeared to take in his concerns, enabled him to prevail in the councils of Messenia, and to separate that important member from the Achæan confederacy. At the time of this separation, Philopœmen lay ill of a fever at Argos, in his eighth pretorship, and the seventieth year of his age. But when he learned that the Messenians were in arms, he roused from his sick-bed and endeavoured to anticipate them at Coronè, one of their principal harbours, which had refused to join in the rebellion. The small body of cavalry, commanded by himself and Lycortas, was encountered by Deinocrates. The enemy far surpassed in number, and the ground was unfavourable. Philopœmen might have saved his person, had he not been more anxious to secure the retreat of his horsemen through some dangerous defiles which they had to pass. For this purpose he closed the rear, and made face to the enemy, sustaining their assault, until his horse fell under him. Being stunned by the fall, he was raised up by the Messenians, who treated him with all the respect which they could have shown to their own general. Crowds came to behold him as he entered Messene; and the greater part of the inhabitants of that place expected that, through the possession of so invaluable a pledge, they would be able to conclude an advantageous peace. But Deinocrates

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Messenian
war. Death
of Philopœ-
men.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

⁸⁰ See above, vol. ii. p. 548.

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Wound
thereby
given to the
Achæan
league.

and his adherents, who were the ruling party, fearing an insurrection in his favour, caused him to be withdrawn from public view, on pretence of putting to him certain interrogatories, essential to the common interest. He was confined, during the night, in a place that had once served for a treasury; a dark subterranean vault, the entrance to which was shut by a large stone, raised and let down by machinery. Next day, a cup of poison was sent to him: he asked the messengers of death whether Lycortas, and his other companions in arms, had made a successful retreat. It was answered, "they are safe:" then, drinking the poison, he said, "all is well."⁸¹ During forty years he had acted the chief part in Achæaia, at a period when that state aspired to unite Greece under a federal and representative government, founded on principles highly liberal and equitable; a design which, could it have been fully effected there, might afterwards have been extended to the Greek colonies of Asia and Africa; and thereby have placed the civilization of the ancient world on a firm and stable basis. But this undertaking was unhappily frustrated by a very unfortunate conjuncture; I mean, that of the wisest policy of Greece, with the highest energy and most intense ambition of Rome. It must also be acknowledged, that the contest between the two nations might have terminated differently, had the Achæans remained true to themselves. Many of their leading men, as we have seen, recommended on all occasions an implicit submission to the Romans. To Aristæus, who first held this language in the Achæan council, Philopœmen said, "why do you desire to see the last day of Greece?" Philopœmen himself did not see it: he has been called, indeed, the last of the Greeks, but improperly; for Lycortas lived to avenge his death, a man animated with patriotism as pure as his own.

Lycortas
defeats the
Messenians.

When the disaster that had befallen their admired general, was divulged through the Achæan states, they made prepara-

⁸¹ Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 12. & Plutarch in Philopœmen.

tion with more than usual celerity for invading Messenia. Lycortas was chosen pretor; and ambassadors were sent to Rome to explain the just grounds of the war, and to avert the opposition to it apprehended from that quarter. Without being told the incidents of the expedition, we are only informed that it was completely successful⁸². The Messenians submitted, and gave up the authors and principal abettors of the revolt, except Deinocrates and a few others, who, in despair of mercy, had become their own executioners. Those of the rebels, who were convicted of being accomplices by word or deed in the murder of Philopœmen, were reserved for punishment at his tomb: when his ashes were conveyed with every circumstance of funeral pomp to his native city Megalopolis. The sepulchral urn, crowned with garlands, was borne by Polybius son to Lycortas, then a youth in his nineteenth year, and long afterwards destined to raise in his writings a perpetual monument to his own fame and that of his most illustrious countryman. Deputations from all the states of Achaia attended the procession; crowds flocked from all quarters to meet it: the citizens of Megalopolis received it with melancholy exultation. Philopœmen was honoured with statues, inscriptions, and altars; and future historians marked the year which proved fatal to him, as chiefly memorable for the death of great men; Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio⁸³: about the same time Quintius Flaminius, their equal rather in merit than renown, disappears from history.

Before the commencement of their Messenian expedition, the Achæans had sent an embassy to Rome craving assistance as allies, to cloak their fear of being attacked as enemies. The senate answered haughtily, that the Romans took no concern in the affairs of the Achæan league, and cared not, should Argos or even Corinth forsake it. But when Lycortas' expedition had been crowned with signal success, the senate assumed much merit from forbearance to thwart his

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—Honours
to the me-
mory of
Philopœ-
men.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

Rome pre-
pares for
the Mace-
donian war.
Olymp.
cxlix. 3.
B. C. 182.

⁸² Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 12. l. xxv. c. 1.

⁸³ Ibid. c. xxiv. c. 9.

CHAP. XXI. measures. The views of Rome were now intirely turned towards Macedon; for the Achæans, by complying with the senate's decree as to Lacedæmon, and by readmitting the Messenians as free and equal members of their league, had removed every specious ground of quarrel²⁴.

The partiality of the Romans for Demetrius excites Philip's jealousy.

The conduct of the king of Macedon had been altogether different. His son Demetrius, indeed, had returned with a conditional peace; but, as even this boon was explicitly granted to favour for the young prince, independently of any goodwill towards the king his father, it had a tendency rather to widen the breach, and to envenom hostility by jealousy. Philip, whose conscious turpitude naturally rendered him suspicious, began to regard Demetrius in the light of a dangerous rival, whose influence with Rome had deprived him of the affections of the Macedonians strongly inclined to peace, and who, through the same influence, might one day rob him of his kingdom. These unworthy suggestions, of his own perturbed fancy, were aggravated by the arts of Perseus, his eldest son, and as such destined for the inheritance of his crown, conformably with the rule of royal succession long acknowledged in Macedon.

Rivalship between Demetrius and Perseus. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

But a cloud of mystery hung over the birth of Perseus. Many believed him a supposititious child, whom his royal mother had introduced into Philip's bed, in order to conceal her barrenness. They even named the real mother, from whom he had been purchased; a certain Gnathænia of Argos, who disgraced the humble trade of a sempstress by one incomparably more degrading. Yet, the cheat, if it was one, long passed unchallenged; Perseus was now in his 30th year; Demetrius was five years younger; both had hitherto been treated with all the honours due to royal descent: Perseus, in early youth, had been named to command armies in the Roman war; and Demetrius, at the termination of that war, had been sent at the head of the Macedonian hostages to Rome, in the same manner that the second son of Antiochus

²⁴ Polybius & Livy.

the Great afterwards passed thither at the conclusion of peace between the Romans and Syrians. The competition between the sons of Philip divided the court and army; the advantage on the side of the elder being balanced by the assured legitimacy of the younger; and Philip's predilection for Perseus, by the partiality of Rome to Demetrius⁸⁵. When the latter returned to Macedon with flattering prospects of peace, the number of his partisans greatly increased among the inhabitants of the seacoast, who dreaded the renewal of war as the destruction of their commerce, and among all men of penetration, who deprecated it still more earnestly as big with ruin to the kingdom.

But this disposition in his people exasperated the angry passions of the king, and augmented his activity in providing means to gratify them. In compliance with the decrees of the senate, he withdrew, indeed, his garrisons from some maritime cities in Thrace and Thessaly. These reluctant cessions, however, were balanced by more important conquests. By arms or negotiation he gained an ascendancy over the Thracian tribes. The fiercest of that nation were enlisted in his service, and transported to the shores of Macedon on which they acquired lands by the removal of old proprietors with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Philip carried into the heart of his kingdom, the Greeks and Macedonians on his coast suspected of disaffection to his person, because they had shown themselves averse to his measures. Many of them joined his army to avoid the punishment of rebels, which they had seen unsparingly and indiscriminately inflicted; for, in prosecuting the work of death, the tyrant united with those actually accused of bad designs, the descendents of his ancient enemies; a proceeding which he justified by the tragedian's authority,

Philip extends his territories and his alliances. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 162.

Fool! who the father slays, yet spares the son!

⁸⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix.c. 53.

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His activity was indefatigable. He was in all parts present, and every where dreadfully successful, illustrating Plato's remark, that the restless energies of men wax strong with their wickedness⁸⁶. In Thrace, he planted a garrison at Philippopolis, a city watered by the Hebrus; on the side of Illyricum, he formed a new stronghold near the ancient Stobi, on the western bank of the Erigonus, and called it Perseis in honour of his elder son, who participated in all his counsels, to the total exclusion of the younger⁸⁷.

His friendship with the Bastarnæ a German nation.

Beyond the Danube Philip's renown reached the warlike nation of the Bastarnæ, whom historians variously ascribe to the German or Sarmatian name. The Bastarnæ, indeed, dwelt east of the Vistula, which is said, on the one hand, to have separated the Germans from the Sarmatians, as the Rhine, on the other, separated them from the Gauls. But Germany, long a warlike country, pushed its colonies on either side beyond these boundaries. Many nations of German extraction dwelt westward of the Rhine; and the Bastarnæ, though they inhabited the country east of the Vistula, agreed with the Germans in language, manners, and dress; above all, in cultivating the soil and living in fixed huts, instead of wandering like the Sarmatians with their herds and tents⁸⁸. The Bastarnæ listened with pleasure to a victorious prince, who flattered them with the prospect of easy conquests in Illyricum and Italy, countries more fruitful than their own. Some of their princes accompanied the return of Philip's embassy, one of whom offered his sister in marriage to Perseus the king's son. The father was pleased with the proposal, and much elated at the success of his negotiation with a brave and powerful nation.

Intrigues for the ruin of Demetrius.

But Perseus, of a temper less sanguine, could taste no joy, while his brother Demetrius lived. The courtiers of Philip,

⁸⁶ Plato in *Repub.* *passim*.

⁸⁸ Tacitus de *Mor. German.* c.

⁸⁷ Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 8. Tit. Liv. 46. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 306. l. xl. c. 3.

who had fluctuated between the rival princes until the war with Rome seemed inevitable, now generally espoused the cause of the elder, and assisted him in his endeavours to ensnare and betray the younger. For this purpose, they spoke disdainfully of the Romans; vilified even their victories, as due solely to their allies; above all, derided such particulars in their manners and institutions as were the easiest to be placed in a contemptible point of view⁸⁹. The naked meanness of their capital itself, sparingly adorned with works of architecture, formed the subject of a degrading contrast with the magnificence of Greece and Macedon. Instead of enjoying the accommodation of splendid furniture and pompous edifices, many Romans still lodged in cottages, and slept on straw⁹⁰. Some of their leading men, who had exercised the highest offices of state, partook in the labour of their own slaves or servants, and used to eat with them at the same table, and even from the same dish⁹¹. Yet the haughtiness of such vile Barbarians, it was said, knew no bounds!

These reproaches were continually reechoed in the ears of Demetrius, merely to provoke his anger. Warm, frank, and generous, he defended the Romans with an indignant zeal, which made him totally forget that they had ever been the enemies of his country. His expressions, on such occasions, were industriously carried to his father, exaggerated by lying courtiers, and envenomed by the malignant Perseus. When Philip was boasting with his usual levity of his recent alliance with the Bastarnæ, Perseus gravely observed, "that foreign allies could little avail against dangerous domestic enemies. In his own family there was, he would not say a traitor, but certainly a spy, whose heart and affections, as the Romans

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

⁹⁰ Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 3. Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3. & Cicero pro Roscio.

⁹¹ Plutarch. in Caton. Major. The sarcasms of the Macedonian courtiers would have been more applicable before the Romans made

war in Asia, from which time their simplicity and frugality began to decline. But the change of manners in nations is liable to be overlooked by their neighbours; and, even when this change is remarked, they are often to serve a purpose, described as they were, not as they are.

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themselves acknowledged, still remained hostages in Italy⁹², though he had personally returned into Macedon. That the views of all men were directed towards Demetrius, thinking that they must shortly obey the king, whom the Romans wished to set over them⁹³." Philip was stung with the remark: yet his pain was rather felt than expressed; the remains of paternal tenderness still pleaded for an open, affectionate, and long dutiful son; and pride, mingling with shame, reminded him, that the house of Antigonus, his great ancestor, had remained invariably united in itself, throughout ages of profligacy and blood; under the sad accumulation of public and private crimes, concord had prevailed uninterruptedly in the royal family; fathers had been uniformly kind, and sons as uniformly grateful. Amidst all the reproaches which his tyranny had incurred, Philip was unwilling to forfeit an old hereditary virtue.

Open rupture between him and Perseus.
Olymp. cxlix. 3.
B. C. 182.

Meanwhile, the enmity between his sons grew every day more apparent; and was no longer to be mitigated by the natural good humour of Demetrius, nor disguised by the cowardly cunning of Perseus. At a lustration⁹⁴ of the army, which, according to custom, concluded with a mock battle, the two princes engaged so warmly at the head of their respective partisans, that fit weapons only were wanting to convert this military pastime into a field of blood. Armed, as they were, with staves and foils, instead of spears and swords, the contending parties inflicted many severe wounds on each other. Perseus and his friends were at length put to rout: they rallied, however, in good order; and, as well as their opponents, repaired to an entertainment which their leaders had provided for them. The remainder of the day was to be spent in convivial merriment; in which Demetrius invited his brother to partake with him. This, Perseus declined; but sent in his stead, several of his adherents as spies, one of whom behaved so incautiously and insolently, that he was driven from the hall in disgrace, after receiving due

⁹² See above, p. 29.

⁹³ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

⁹⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 218.

chastisement from four youths, friends to Demetrius. That prince who, in the tumult of the drunken carousal, had not taken notice of this incident, exclaimed, as the wine began to animate his natural generosity of temper, and to make him forget his wrongs, "Why do we not go to Perseus? Let us hasten to him instantly, and remove any grudge that he may have conceived on account of his defeat." The proposal was approved by all, except the four youths who had just beaten the spy. Demetrius, still ignorant of this transaction, desired them also to attend him: they prepared to obey, but first armed themselves with concealed weapons. Intelligence of all that passed was quickly conveyed by a more cautious spy to Perseus. He instantly made fast his doors; and from the upper windows, which looked towards the street, reproached Demetrius on his arrival, for coming to him with armed men in order to take away his life. Demetrius answered not the accusation, nor even understood its meaning. Having made a fruitless uproar in order to obtain admission, he returned to the place from whence he came, to renew the debauch with his companions⁹⁵.

Next day, Perseus equally surprised and grieved his father with an account of this new enormity. Philip, with two of his oldest ministers Lysimachus and Onomastus, sat in judgment on one of his sons, charged with the design of fratricide by the other. Each of the parties was allowed to introduce into the judgment chamber three unarmed friends: two of Philip's bodyguards also attended. Thirteen persons being thus present, it is possible that a very accurate account of the whole proceeding was preserved, and that the speeches ascribed to Philip and his sons were really pronounced by them. Some embellishments they have, doubtless, received from a Roman pen, but the general purport of them flowed so naturally from the occasion, that the mind of every reader would anticipate their contents. Demetrius clearly exculpated himself from the

Accusation
of Deme-
trius—
means em-
ployed to
convict
him.

⁹⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. & seq.

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Philip's as-
cent to
mount
Hæmus.
Olymp.
exlix. 4.
B. C. 181.

crime with which he was charged. He was not equally successful in removing all suspicion of his unwarrantable correspondence with the Romans. To obtain certainty on this subject, Philip sent to Rome two of his courtiers, Apelles and Philocles, on pretence of an embassy to the senate; determining, meanwhile, that the accused prince should be carefully observed in all his actions, and excited by every artifice to reveal his inmost purposes⁹⁶.

It happened that Philip, accompanied by both his sons, made a progress from Pella through the northern parts of his dominions. From Stobi in Pæonia, he travelled to Mædica on the frontiers of Thrace. As his imagination was filled with his great design of leading the Barbarians beyond the Danube into Italy, an inclination seized him of ascending to the top of mount Hæmus, seven marches distant, from which it was reported that the traveller could survey at one view the Euxine and Hadriatic seas, the river Danube, and the Alps. In this mountain expedition, the king carried with him his elder son, whose eagerness for the invasion of Italy corresponded with his own. He left Demetrius behind, on pretence that he wished not to embark both the hopes of his family in a laborious undertaking, not unattended with danger; and that the young prince might be properly accompanied to Pella, sent with him a small escort commanded by Didas, a military governor in Pæonia. Didas, who had espoused the interests of the elder brother, gained the confidence of the younger with a view to betray him. Demetrius acknowledged that recent occurrences had afforded him sufficient proof of his father's unjust but incurable suspicions; that his only safety was in flight; and he rejoiced at finding a friend in Didas through whose means he might escape to Rome. This secret design was quickly conveyed to Perseus, and by him communicated to his father. Philip had by this time descended from mount Hæmus, where he had experienced intense cold, even in the month of August, but had not

⁹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. & seq.

enjoyed any of the extensive and inviting prospects which he looked for, the mountain having continued uniformly involved in a thick fog⁹⁷. CHAP.
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He was now in his way homeward through Mædica, and employed in besieging Petra, a mountain fort, which had presumed to shut its gates. From this place, which soon surrendered, he sent instructions to Didas to amuse his prisoner, and to be careful to prevent his escape. At the same time he gave orders for seizing the person of Herodorus, one of Demetrius' most intimate friends. No violence, however, was offered to either of them, until the return of Apelles and Philocles from Rome. To the discoveries of those men whom he deemed altogether impartial in the quarrel between his sons, Philip ultimately trusted. But Perseus had found means of suborning them. They conveyed to the king forged letters, sealed with the counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius, "deprecating Philip's wrath against an unfortunate youth, who rather giddily than insidiously had swerved from his duty." The treason of Demetrius now seemed to be fully established. His friend Herodorus was put to the torture, and died without uttering a word that could be laid hold of. Demetrius was conveyed to Heraclæa in Pæonia, and there poisoned by Didas at the entertainment following a sacrifice. He quickly perceived the effects of the fatal draught, and retired in great agony to his apartment, into which, lest his complaints should be overheard, two ruffians were sent to smother him⁹⁸. Murder of
Demetrius.

In his late angry negotiation with the Romans, Philip said threateningly, that the sun of all his days had not yet set. It set for ever with the murder of Demetrius. Immediately on that event Perseus, the great promoter of it, totally changed his conduct. Instead of perpetual assiduity about his father, and unbounded deference to his will, he kept himself at a distance, held separate councils with his partisans, and betrayed unequivocal signs of an unnatural eagerness to reign. Philip discovers the
treachery
of Perseus
and his accomplices.

⁹⁷ Ibid. c. 22.⁹⁸ Ibid. c. 24.

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This alteration in Perseus awakened the latent suspicions which the king silently entertained concerning his unworthy treatment of Demetrius. They were at length communicated to Antigonus, his near kinsman, who, had long discerned the turpitude of Perseus, notwithstanding the deep veil of hypocrisy under which it was concealed; and who, being now assured of the king's willingness to believe him, determined to unmask the traitor. As he doubted not but the letter from Titus Quintius was forged, on which chiefly the king's proceedings had been grounded, he seized on Xychas, a scribe, who was much connected with Philocles and Apelles, and who should seem to have served them in the office of secretary in their embassy to Italy. Xychas, when first brought to Philip, denied that he had any secret to impart; but a seasonable application to his fears, made him acknowledge that he had counterfeited the handwriting and signature of Quintius, for the purpose of ruining Demetrius. Of his two accomplices, Apelles took guilt on himself, by a hasty flight beyond seas; Philocles was seized and secured; according to one account he confessed his guilt on being confronted with Xychas; others say, that he endured the torture without making any discovery. However this may have been, Philip obtained complete conviction in his own mind, and declared himself the unhappiest of men in the death of one son and the life of the other⁹⁹.

Perseus defies his deceived father—death of Philip. Olymp. cl. 2. B. C. 179.

That other was too powerful for punishment. He kept on the frontiers of Macedon, at the head of his numerous partisans, defying the vengeance of his father, whom a mixture of grief and rage was hurrying to the grave. In the extremity of his affliction, Philip would have abandoned his country to destruction, or even have bequeathed it to his worst enemies the Romans, a mode of extinction that afterwards became not unusual with Greek kingdoms. But from these desperate purposes he was diverted by the engagements which he

⁹⁹ Ibid. c. 55.

had contracted with the Bastarnæ for the invasion of Italy, and not less by the desire to reward Antigonus, in whom, from his success in vindicating the innocence of Demetrius, he beheld that injured young prince restored as it were to life, and reinstated in all his rights. Antigonus thus obtained the expectancy of the crown; and being conducted by Philip through the central provinces and cities of Macedon, while Perseus still kept at the extremities, was every where recommended to the inhabitants as their future sovereign¹⁰⁰.

He shortly afterwards undertook an embassy to the Bastarnæ, whose assistance might prove equally important against domestic and foreign enemies. But his mission to those distant allies proved highly unseasonable, for Philip, after spending a considerable time at his favourite cities Demetrias and Thessalonica, proceeded to Amphipolis to meet the return of Antigonus, and was there seized with a fever which ended his life, in the 59th year of his age and 42d of his reign. Naturally enterprising, and always active, he deserved in early life the fairer praise of justice and clemency. But being beset by bad counsellors, his youthful mind was fired with an ambition that spurned every obstacle in the way of its gratification: and one crime hurried him into another still more atrocious, until he merited the character willingly stamped on him by Roman historians, as a cruel master, an unnatural father, a perfidious ally, and a relentless enemy. His physician Calligenes was the creature of Perseus. To him the king's danger was communicated, though concealed from all besides. The son hastened to secure the inheritance of his father's throne, and effectually succeeded in this purpose, while Antigonus was still on his return to Amphipolis. Near to this place, a rumour first reached him of the sad alteration in his fortune. Before he had time to escape, a party of soldiers seized his person;

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. c. 56.

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 XXI. to have been the first important act in the reign of Perseus¹⁰¹.

Disasters of
 his allies
 the Bastar-
 næ.
 Olymp.
 cl. 2—cli. 2.
 B. C. 179—
 175.

The Bastarnæ, meanwhile, were in motion. Before Philip's death was known, the first divisions of them crossed the Danube, and began to march through Thrace, in confidence of the measures taken for their friendly reception in that country, and their secure passage to Dardania. But the revolution, which had happened in Macedon, disconcerted all their measures. Instead of friends in the Thracians, they found in that people implacable enemies. Many perished by the sword, many more by the inclemency of the weather, and by their folly in pursuing the enemy over barren heaths and stormy mountains. In the thunder and lightning of mount Hæmus, they thought that heaven combated against them, and manifestly condemned their enterprise¹⁰². Scarcely thirty thousand of the vast multitude penetrated to Dardania, and gained possession of that country which, on account of its inveterate hostility to Macedon, Philip wished to subject to the havoc of those ravagers in their way to the Alps. Having remained in that Illyrian district about four years, an unfortunate war with the revived courage of the natives drove them from Dardania, and made them take the road homeward in the heart of winter. The firm ice of the Danube seemed to offer them a secure passage; but it suddenly gave way under the collected mass of men and cattle, and the greater part of the Bastarnæ perished in the river¹⁰³. Rome, destined at last to fall by the hands of Goths and Germans, thus remained safe from those barbarians for nearly six centuries; the boldest project in the reign of Philip having ended in an empty menace.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.* c. 57, 58.

¹⁰³ Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

CHAPTER XXII.

Situation and Policy of Perseus. His Negotiations with the Powers of Asia and Europe. Usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes. Reports of Roman Ambassadors from Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Attempted Assassination of Eumeneæ. Accusations against Perseus. Campaign of Licinius Crassus. Of Aulus Hostilius. Of Martius Philippus. Passage of Octoluphus. War in Illyricum. Paulus Emilius takes the Command in Macedon. Conquest of that Kingdom. Ruin of its Royal Family. Illiberal and cruel Conditions imposed on it. Treatment of its Abettors among the Etolians, Achæans, Rhodians. Affairs of Syria and Egypt. Plunder of Illyricum. Desolation of Epirus. Wealth accumulated by the Romans. How employed by them.

A NEW war must have broken out between Rome and Macedon, had Philip lived only a few months longer; and his death, at the critical juncture when it happened, is admitted, even by the pride of Roman historians, as an event highly propitious to their commonwealth. The circumstances of Perseus were altogether different from his father's. A powerful party in the country denied his right of succession: he was personally odious to the numerous adherents of his late brother Demetrius; and instead of assistance from the Bastarnæ, he had reason to dread their hostility. On the cowardly mind of Perseus, fear produced the effects of prudence. By every imaginable concession, he soothed his enemies at home and abroad. Proclamations were made for recalling to their country, and reinstating in their possessions, all persons who had been banished by the resentment or jealousy of Philip; and edicts to this effect were hung up in the temples of Delphi and Delos, and other general resorts of superstition and

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Situation
and policy
of Perseus.
Olymp.
cl. 3.
B. C. 178.

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commerce. In his domestic government, Perseus made no distinction between his own friends and those of his late rival: justice was administered with impartiality; and promotions in the state and army were regulated by the natural claims of birth, rank, and tried merit. The maxims of his foreign policy were equally conciliatory. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, spoke of nothing but amity, concord, and the unbounded respect of their master for the will of the senate. Perseus disavowed with truth all share in his father's negotiations with the nations beyond the Danube; he courted assiduously the Roman allies in Greece: undertook a journey to Delphi, where he behaved at once popularly and piously; and despatched from thence letters or messages to all the neighbouring cities, exhorting them to forget past dissensions with Macedon, and assuring them, that on his part nothing should be left untried for recovering that fair renown among the Greeks which his father Philip, in the latter part of his reign, had too justly forfeited¹.

He offers to send back debtors and fugitive slaves belonging to Achaia and Attica.

To the Athenians, the oldest allies of Rome, and the Achæans, who were at this time the most respectable, he offered advantages of such a nature as, he had reason to think, would be highly welcome. During the late reign, these two states had passed decrees, prohibiting all intercourse with Macedon; the Athenians, chiefly with a view thereby to flatter the Romans; the Achæans, partly from the same motive, and partly from their desire of excluding every interference in their affairs by a powerful foreign prince. But regulations debarring the Macedonians from entering the territories of Athens and Achaia, also hindered, by a natural consequence, the citizens of these republics from all access to the kingdom of Macedon, and thus prevented creditors and masters from reclaiming their debtors and runaway slaves; both which descriptions of fugitives had retired in great numbers within the Macedonian frontier. Perseus wrote to the Athenians

¹ Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvi. c. 1. and Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 1—4.

and Achæans, that he had made search for all persons amenable to their jurisdiction; that he had been fortunate in discovering the greatest part of them; and was desirous, out of regard for those whom it concerned, to remand them to their respective homes. In the Achæan council, the acceptance of this proposal was recommended by the pretor Xenarchus, but opposed by Callicrates, a man so totally devoted to Rome, that he was afraid of entering into any friendly transaction with a prince, likely to become obnoxious to that commonwealth. On such an unworthy ground, Perseus' offer, first communicated by letter, and afterwards by the more respectful mode of a formal embassy, was rejected to the deep regret of those Achæans who wished to maintain the independence of their country, and particularly of Lycortas and Arco, formerly the pupils and friends of Philopœmen; and, now that he was no more, fondly attached to his maxims, and zealous in prosecuting his measures². History does not inform us of the proceedings of the Athenians on the same occasion: but as they, of all the Greeks, were the meanest in their adulation to Rome, and the loudest in their invectives against Macedon, it may warrantably be infered that their behaviour was not less pusillanimous.

Without testifying the smallest resentment against such states as declined connexion with him, Perseus cultivated with diligence and address all those to whom he could gain an opening; particularly the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Etolians. In these and other communities, the lower classes of men favoured the king of Macedon, merely because their superiors were better inclined to the Romans; many followed the impulse of that natural generosity, which, in the sportive combats of the stadium, always disposed the multitude to abet the weaker party: even among the higher ranks, all who had no interested purpose to serve, acknowledged and lamented that

His negotiation with the powers of Europe and Asia. Olymp. cl. 3—cli. 1. B. C. 178—176.

² Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 23, 24. Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 1—3.

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the plausible patronage³ of the Romans was gradually exalting itself into dominion; and, though they considered the evil as less, of acknowledging the supremacy of that distant people, than of paying obedience to a king in their own neighbourhood, yet they earnestly desired to avoid submission to either; and in the contest ready to take place between them, wished to render the balance even, that they might not themselves lie at the mercy of the conqueror⁴. In this disposition of the Greeks, Perseus recovered, without exciting alarm, some possessions that had belonged to his ancestors; particularly the district of Dolopia, on the frontier of Epirus⁵. He formed connexions with the small states into which that renowned kingdom of Pyrrhus had long been divided; he entered into a negotiation with Gentius, king of the Illyrians; and he completely gained Cotys, the leader of the Odryssians, and the most powerful chieftain in Thrace⁶. Not confining his views to Europe, he looked towards the powers of Asia; where Eumenes, indeed, who swayed the politics of the peninsula, was his hereditary and irreconcilable foe. But we have seen the jealousies that in the partition of the spoils of Antiochus the Great, had arisen between Eumenes and the Rhodians. In the first year of his reign, Perseus greatly conciliated to him those islanders, and through their means entered into a treaty of marriage with the king of Syria, and espoused his daughter Laodicè. As Seleucus, in terms of the peace granted by Rome to his father, was debarred from the use of vessels of any considerable magnitude, the Rhodians, with a splendid fleet, escorted the bride from Antioch to Pella⁷. In the way thither, they anchored in the sacred island of Delos, where Laodicè made valuable offerings to Latona and her divine children. Her generous piety was extolled, with due praise, by the Delians, and afterwards commemo-

He marries
Laodice,
daughter to
Seleucus.

³Cicero uses the word after it had long ceased to be applicable. Ita que illud patrocinium orbis terrarum verius, quam imperium nominari poterat. De Offic. l. ii. c. 8.

⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 30.

⁵ Id. l. xli. c. 22.

⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 29.

⁷ Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 7.

rated by a marble statue erected in their island, in honour
 “ of queen Laodice, the wife of Perseus⁸.” Shortly after
 celebrating his own nuptials. Perseus betrothed his sister
 to Prusias II. king of Bithynia⁹. These were the only marri-
 ages by which he could strengthen his interest in the east;
 for Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, having escaped, as related
 above, the vengeance of the Romans by contracting an affinity
 with Eumenes, followed thenceforward the advice of that
 prince, in choosing both his friends and his enemies. The
 king of Egypt was a minor under the prudent guardianship
 of his mother Cleopatra. This princess, daughter to Anti-
 ochus the Great, had profited in the school of adversity.
 She maintained a friendly intercourse with the Romans,
 and instilled into her docile son, Ptolemy Philometer, a
 respectful deference for those ancient allies and powerful
 protectors.

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his sister to
Prusias.⁹Politics of
Cappadocia
and Egypt.

Such continued to be the state of the eastern kingdoms,
 when, in the fifth year of Perseus' reign, his father-in-law
 Seleucus was poisoned by the high treasurer Heliodorus,
 who assumed his master's diadem. Demetrius, son to Seleu-
 cus, was then in his way to Rome, in exchange for Antiochus
 brother to the same prince, who had remained a hostage
 thirteen years in that city. To crush the rebellion of the
 Syrians, Antiochus came among them escorted by the arms
 of Eumenes: their loyalty returned to the house of the great
 Nicator; Heliodorus paid the just forfeit of his crimes; and
 for strengthening the throne, the present Antiochus was
 preferred to the absent Demetrius, a boy in his twelfth year¹⁰.
 Yet as the ordinary rules of succession were hereby violated,
 Antiochus, who, in opposition to the ignoble usurper whom
 he had destroyed, was entitled Epiphanes, had recourse to
 the lowest artifices for gaining favour with those who had the
 power, and as it eventually suited them, might have the will

Antiochus
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cli. 2.
B. C. 175.

⁸ The pedestal, containing this in-
 scription, has come down to modern
 times. Vid. Marmor. Oxon. Num.
 142.

⁹ Plutarch de Fratern. Amor.

¹⁰ Appian Syriac. Hieron. in Dan-
 iel, xi. 21.

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ply him with a perennial source of stout and stubborn soldiers." Moved by these considerations, Eumenes said, "that he had thought it worthy of his own fidelity and zeal to apprise the Romans of their danger, instead of allowing them to learn it from an invading enemy¹³."

Defence
made by
Perseus'
ambassa-
dors.

The king's representations produced their full effect. A few days afterwards, a meeting of the senate was granted to the Macedonians, commissioned to defend their master. They were heard with great impatience; and the ungracious reception which they met with provoked Harpalus, the head of their embassy, to speak with a degree of freedom that farther widened the breach. He said, that Perseus had spared no pains to repel calumny, "and to convince the Romans that there had been nothing of hostility in any of the words or actions ascribed to him. But that, should they obstinately persevere in seeking false grounds of quarrel, his master would prepare to defend himself. The chance of war was equal¹⁴."

Complaints
of the Rho-
dians
against
Eumenes.

The negotiations with Pergamus and Macedon had brought to Rome deputies from most of the free cities in Greece and Lesser Asia. They came thither under various pretences, but the great common motive was to watch the result of transactions deeply interesting to them all, and to give them, if possible, the turn most favourable to their several views. Out of respect to Eumenes, he had been heard in the senate not only the first, but alone; and the other strangers knew the purport of his discourse merely by conjecture. The Rhodians were highly dissatisfied with this mode of proceeding. They desired to be confronted with the king, who, they doubted not, had mingled complaints against themselves with his accusations of Perseus. As ancient and faithful allies to Rome, they vindicated their fair claim to this favour, and obtained it through the interest of those senators who had long been connected with their island in the bands of hospitality and friendship. Satyrus, who headed their

¹³ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 11, 12, 13.

¹⁴ Ibid. c. 24.

deputation, did not content himself with acting the part of a defendant. He pronounced a warm invective against Eu- CHAP.
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menes, represented his ascendancy as more grievous to the free cities in Asia than that of Antiochus, whom he had supplanted: and maintained, that he wished to bring back Roman armies to the East, merely that he might be abetted by them in his unjust usurpations and cruel oppressions.

This language met with applause from the Asiatic deputies who were present; but it highly offended the senate, and eventually proved, as we shall see, not a little injurious to the Rhodians. To Eumenes, on the other hand, it was useful: the general and unjust conspiracy of his neighbours against his fame as well as interest, endeared him the more to the Romans: accordingly, a most flattering decree immediately passed in his favour, and he was honoured with an ivory rod, a curule chair, and such other symbols of friendship as the commonwealth bestowed on its most deserving confederates¹⁵. Acceptable to the Asiatic deputies, and offensive to the senate.

Shortly after this transaction, ambassadors having returned from their above mentioned missions to Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria, made report of their proceedings to the senate. With regard to Macedon, they confirmed the statement given by Eumenes of its great military preparations and very menacing posture. The kings of Syria and Egypt, they said, had been warmly solicited by Perseus, to join in his hostile designs; but that Antiochus had learned to know the Romans by his long residence among them, and that Ptolemy continued to honour and revere them as hereditary protectors: that both these princes adhered firmly to the faith of treaties, and were zealous in case of war to afford every aid required of them¹⁶. This information had much influence on the senate, but its resentment against Perseus was exasperated to the highest degree by accounts received from a different quarter: accounts, which if true, would brand that prince as the most execrable of criminals, and which, on Report of the Roman ambassadors from Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Olymp. clii. 1. B. C. 172.

¹⁵ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* c. 26.

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Eumenes
attacked by
assassins in
his ascent
to Delphi.
Olymp.
clii. 1.
B. C. 171.

the other hand, if false, must disgrace his enemies as the basest of calumniators.

His ambassador Harpalus had, on the first indication of the senate's unalterable displeasure, hastened back to Macedon, and was said to have greatly incensed his master against Eumenes, as the chief author of the war which he represented as now become inevitable. It was not doubted that Eumenes, on his way home to Pergamus, would signalize his piety by a visit to Delphi. This journey would afford an opportunity for intercepting and destroying him amidst the intricate paths and craggy rocks which environed the sacred city. Eumenes, in fact, as he ascended from Cirrha to the temple, by a narrow and lonesome tract, where two persons could not conveniently walk abreast, was overwhelmed by a shower of stones and taken up for dead by his attendants. The perpetrators of this enormity made their escape by the heights of Parnassus, having slain one of their accomplices who was unable to keep pace with them; by which cruel expedient their names remained unknown. Upon examining the prostrate body of Eumenes, his attendants perceived that he still breathed. Proper assistance was administered to him: he was carried to the seacoast, only a few miles distant; embarked there in a vessel for Corinth, and from thence was transported to Ægina, an island, as we have seen, long subject to his dominion. At Ægina, he kept himself in the greatest privacy; none were admitted to his presence but those instrumental to his cure; he thus set sail and arrived in Pergamus before the first rumours of his death had been completely dissipated, loudly accusing his inveterate adversary Perseus as the author of the execrable attempt to assassinate him. To confirm this charge before the senate, Caius Valerius, one of the Roman commissioners in Greece, brought with him into Italy Praxo a citizen of Delphi, who confessed that, about the time of Eumenes' disaster, he had accommodated with lodging four strangers, three of whom were Macedonians, and the fourth a certain Evander of

Perseus ac-
cused of
this enor-
mity and
other
crimes
more se-
cret and
more odi-
ous.

Crete, commander of some Cretan mercenaries in the service of Perseus. But, as if the violence done to Eumenes had not been sufficient to provoke the senators to war, Valerius was provided with another witness, who accused Perseus of more execrable, because more secret crimes. This accuser was Lucius Rammius, a citizen of Brundisium, and the most generous as well as richest inhabitant of that place. Rammius was accustomed to receive into his house and entertain with magnificent hospitality, not only illustrious Romans employed in the public service, but the ministers of foreign states, and particularly of kings. His fame reached the ears of Perseus, whose ambassadors, in their way to Rome, had often experienced Rammius' good offices. Perseus invited him to Pella, and prevailed with him to visit that capital. But Rammius, as he declared, had not been long there, when he found himself admitted to a degree of familiarity with the king far greater than he desired, and made a partaker in secrets with which he would never have wished to become acquainted. The king finally proposed to him, that he should employ the opportunity afforded by his hospitable style of life, for destroying by poison those Romans whom he should, from time to time, name to him; giving assurances, that the execution of this plan would not be attended with the smallest danger, because he should be supplied with poisons potent and efficacious, yet altogether imperceptible in their effects, either at the time when administered, or during the progress of their slow and secret operation. Rammius affected to enter into these views, lest he should himself become the victim of Perseus' dire pharmacy: he had embraced, however, he said, the first opportunity of getting beyond the reach of the king's venomous fangs, but after being made privy to such horrid projects, had not ventured upon returning into Italy, until he had confessed all that he knew to Valerius then at Chalcis, to whom he had immediately repaired,

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Prepara-
tions of the
Romans—
they
change the
comple-
ment of the
legion.

and whom he now accompanied to Rome, that he might repeat his confession in the senate¹⁷.

When the other crimes of Perseus were heightened by such foul imputations, the Romans, not waiting to employ their usual forms in making war, ordered a body of troops to rendezvous at Brundusium, that they might be ready to sail to Illyricum, and anticipate the enemy in seizing Apollonia and other safe harbours on that coast. Ships were collected from the seaports of Magna Græcia and Sicily to the amount of fifty quinqueremes; and corn was provided chiefly from the inland districts of these countries and from Sardinia. It was determined that the consul Licinius Crassus should levy, besides a due proportion of allies, two Roman legions for the service of the Macedonian war; each legion to consist of 6,000 infantry, and 300 horse, instead of 5,000 infantry and 200 horse, which had hitherto been the full legionary complement. An innovation was also made in the appointment of military tribunes, who were to be named by the generals, instead of being elected by the suffrages of the people¹⁸. During the progress of the consul's preparations, the pretor Cneius Licinius, who commanded the forces assembled at Brundusium, sailed with 5,000 men to Apollonia, and encamped in that neighbourhood. A multitude of confidential agents was at the same time despatched to all the nations of Europe and Asia, who were likely to take an interest in the approaching war, or to fall within the sphere of its operations. Not less than five embassies were sent to the countries contiguous to Macedon; they arrived at Corcyra, carrying with them an escort of a thousand infantry, which they divided among them, after settling in that island the plan of their future motions. Agreeably to this plan, Decimius repaired to Gentius the most considerable prince in Illyricum, and notwithstanding the benefits conferred by Rome on his father Pleuratus, strongly suspected of defection.

Their nu-
merous ne-
gotiations.
Olymp.
clii. 2.
B. C. 171.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. 17.¹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 31.

The two Lentuli sailed to Cephallenia, that they might visit, before winter, the coasts of Peloponnesus, and make sure of the Roman allies in that peninsula. The most important commissions were assigned to Marcius and Atilius, who were to examine the temper of men in Epirus, Etolia, and Thessaly; from thence to pass into Bœotia and Eubœa; and then to meet the Lentuli in Peloponnesus, that they might compare with them the result of their respective negotiations, and concert measures for rendering them on all sides successful. This, indeed, was the general issue; the ambassadors succeeded even beyond their hopes, with the single exception of Decimius, who, having failed to gain the Illyrians, returned home loaded with the imputation of being bribed by the enemies of his country¹⁹.

Perseus, though he urged his preparations with activity, had testified a desire for maintaining peace by successive applications at Rome and at Corcyra, before the separation of the Roman ambassadors in that island. He was, on both occasions, scornfully repulsed; yet, when he learned that Marcius, whose father had been the guest and friend of king Philip, had proceeded to Larissa in Thessaly, he sent fresh messengers to request an interview. Marcius answered, that he well knew the intimacy which had subsisted between Perseus' father and his own; moved by which consideration, he had the more willingly undertaken his present mission into Greece: that he likewise wished for a conference, and to that end, would proceed with all convenient speed to the river Pe-neus, near the passage between Omolium and Dium. A few days afterwards the king came thither, escorted by his guards and attended by a splendid retinue of his friends and courtiers. Marcius, also, was honourably accompanied by deputies from the allied cities, all of whom were anxious to behold the meeting between a powerful king and the ambassadors of a renowned and mighty commonwealth. Some altercation took place about adjusting the point of ceremony,

Perseus' interview with Marcius the Roman commissioner. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

¹⁹ Ibid. c. 45.

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which party should come to the other by crossing the Peneus. Marcius, whose surname was Philip, terminated this controversy, by saying, let the younger come to the older, the son to the father. A new question was started, what number of Macedonians should pass over. Perseus proposed bringing with him his whole escort. This was complied with, but on condition that the king should grant hostages: a demand made, not so much for the sake of security, as to prove to the numerous strangers present, that the Romans and Macedonians did not treat as equals. Notwithstanding these very unpromising preludes, the parties met each other with every appearance of cordiality; and both being seated, Marcius began the conference. "You desire," I presume, "Perseus! to have an answer to the questions in your letters to Corcyra, why we, who are ambassadors, have crossed the seas with an armed force, and why Roman garrisons have been sent into several cities on your side the Hadriatic. Not to answer would be haughty; to answer truly, I fear will seem harsh. Yet those who violate treaties, must expect to be punished either by words or actions. In the latter mode of chastisement, the Romans, I hope, will employ some other than me; therefore, however it may hurt my feelings, I will declare for the sake of you, an hereditary guest and friend! the wrongs of which my country complains." Marcius then enumerated all the injuries and crimes of which Perseus had been accused by his enemies in Greece, by king Eumenes, and by Rammius of Brundusium. He accumulated the charge, by saying, with how much pain he had learned, that two Thebans, Evercas and Callicritus, had been intercepted on their mission to Rome, and cruelly assassinated; and that Perseus had stripped of his dominions Abrupolis the Thracian, and had afforded protection to the murderers of Artetarus the Illyrian, though both these princes were allies of the Roman people²⁰. The king in reply, lamented that he had found accusers in those to whom he had been willing to

²⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 40.

submit as judges. The things laid to his charge, he said, were either vile calumnies, or actions, which, rightly viewed, he needed not to be ashamed of. The allegations of Rammius and Eumenes were of the former kind. They were unsupported by any evidence; and had reason, probability, and common sense directly against him. It was likely that he should admit Rammius to his utmost privacy, a stranger whom he had never seen but once on a short visit, and whom he was not likely ever to see again! Had Eumenes no other enemies but himself, that Eumenes whom the Romans, by the complaints recently made of him in their senatehouse, had found to be justly obnoxious to so many individuals, and so many communities both of Europe and of Asia! Could not the Thebans, Evercas and Callicritus, perish by shipwreck among the stormy Cyclades, unless the king of Macedon had cooperated towards their destruction? Abrupolis the Thracian, now acknowledged for the ally of the Romans, had carried his ravages into Macedon. He was repulsed, and vanquished in a just war. The Illyrian Artetarus, another of their allies, had fallen a prey to domestic sedition. His murderers, indeed, had sought refuge in Macedon; and there, for a short time, had found it. Upon the first remonstrance from the Romans, they had been expelled from that kingdom. In all this, where is the ground, nay, the pretence for quarrel? By the laws of Rome²¹, as well as of Greece, criminals, under certain circumstances, were allowed to fly into exile; an useless indulgence if no place is to be left open for their reception! Do the Romans hold themselves guilty of all the misdeeds perpetrated by those unhappy men to whom they have at any time afforded an asylum in Italy²²? Marcius affected to be convinced by the king's discourse. On this account he granted him, though with apparent hesitation, a few

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Perseus
ably repels
the accusa-
tions
against
him.

²¹ In public trials at Rome, persons accused were not put under restraint. They might retire into voluntary exile, even when the last

tribe was employed in giving its suffrage against them. Ascon. in Ciceron. in Verr.

²² Ibid. c. 41.

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Marcus
boasts of
his deceit
in the
senate.

weeks' truce, that he might renew his applications to the senate. During this interval, the Roman agents continued to promote, without obstruction, the views of their republic on both sides the Ægean: they were alike successful on both; particularly in recovering the goodwill of the Rhodians, who were able to reinforce them at sea by a fleet of forty galleys. Upon his return to Rome, Marcus had the effrontery to boast in the senatehouse of the deceit which he had practised on the king, whose preparations, he said, were in such a state of forwardness, while the Romans were yet getting ready, as would have enabled him to commence the war with many decided advantages. A few senators condemned the duplicity and meanness of this proceeding: but so totally had the maxims of the Romans changed, that a great majority of the senate extolled Marcus' dexterity; and a decree immediately passed for his return with a squadron of quinqueremes into Greece, and for allowing him to use his own best judgment in promoting the interests of his country. Orders were, at the same time, despatched to his late colleagues in the embassy, that they should occupy, with the troops at their disposal, the strongholds in Bœotia and Thessaly²³.

The Ro-
mans sail
to Apol-
lonia—
their for-
ces.
Olymp.
elii. 2.
B. C. 171.

Meanwhile, the pretor Caius Lucretius had been assembling the fleet at Naples to the number of forty quinqueremes; with which, having sailed from that harbour, he arrived on the fifth day in the isle of Cephallenia. His brother Marcus, who preceded him, had orders to collect a few galleys promised by the Locrians, Urians²⁴, and Rhegians. He touched afterwards at Epidamnus, and finding there sixty-six vessels belonging to king Gentius and the commonwealth of Issus, he carried them also into Cephallenia, pretending to believe that they had been equipped by those allies for his

²³ Ibid. c. 47.

²⁴ Uria, now Oria, was a city little known, between Brundisium and

Tarentum. Strabo, l. vi. p. 195. It was a colony of Crete. Herodotus, l. vii. c. 170.

service. At Cephallenia, the fleet remained inactive, until the army, under the consul Publius Licinius Crassus, should cross the Hadriatic. This general, to whom the province of Macedon had fallen by lot, left Rome in a military garb to join the army that awaited his orders at Brundusium²⁵. Hitherto unknown to fame, he went to take the command in a war long meditated, against a kingdom whose renown had once filled the world; which, under Philip, father to the present king, had maintained against three consular armies no ignoble warfare, and which, as the senate declared, was eager to renew the contest after having repaired its exhausted strength in a peace of twenty-five years. During the seven years, indeed, that Perseus had reigned, he had never ceased to be represented as an object of jealousy. His people stunned, not terrified, remembered their recent wounds, but were still more mindful of their ancient glory; they stood erect and frowning in the midst of submissive vassals to Rome, by whom their country was surrounded; fortune might now prove more favourable to them; much anxiety therefore attended this expedition, and great preparations had been made for it. The transports conveyed from Brundusium to Apollonia two Roman legions now respectively raised to their full establishment of 6000 foot and 300 horse: the allies were not less numerous; so that the consular army exceeded 25,000 men. Five thousand Romans, as we have seen, had already taken post in different parts of Greece; a reinforcement of seven thousand allies was expected from king Eumenes; the Achæans and other republics, it was not doubted, would raise their contingents and signalize their zeal; cavalry and elephants had been ordered from Numidia; and as Perseus had but few ships of war, and those chiefly drawn up for safety within his fortified harbours, the marines on board the Roman fleet of forty sail, and even most of the rowers, might be employed in cooperating by land with the army; in strengthening posts, besieging maritime cities, and in transporting themselves

²⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 48, 49.

CHAP. quickly along the coast, and acting seasonably on any part
XXII. of it.

Perseus
takes the
field in
Thessaly.
Olymp.
ciii. 2.
B. C. 171.

Perseus, in consequence of the deceit practised on him by Marcius, his hereditary guest, had been anticipated in his negotiations with the Rhodians and other republics of Asia. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, had returned from that city, and made report of their peremptory dismissal by the senate²⁶. The hopes of peace being thus cut off, the king held a council of his ministers and generals at Pella, only a few days before the consular army reached Apollonia. As concession had heightened the pride of the enemy, no resource remained but in arms. The Romans had fought Philip on pretence of emancipating Greece; they now levied war on Perseus with the evident purpose of conquering Macedon. Yet 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse, collected for the defence of that kingdom, would oppose no slight obstacle to Roman ambition. Perseus put himself at their head at Cition, in the neighbourhood of Pella. His suitable speech was received with acclamation; the deputies from the states of his kingdom offered him contributions in money and in corn: he desired for the present, only to be supplied with baggage waggon and beasts of burthen, and made preparations for invading Greece without delay, that the Roman allies, and his own inveterate enemies in that country, might be the first sufferers in the war. The army marched with expedition fifty miles through the beautiful district of Pieria, crossed the river Haliacmon, and traversed the Cambunian mountains which cover the frontier of Thessaly. In that province, long subject to his ancestors, Perseus had a few partisans, but many more exasperated foes. He was unwilling to leave any strong cities behind him, and therefore made himself master of all the principal places north of the river Peneus, which intersects the country almost in its utmost breadth. He strongly garrisoned Gonni, at the entrance of the famous pass called the valley of Tempè, and having

²⁶ Ibid. c. 48.

there ferried over the Peneus, took post at Sycurium, about five miles south of its bank, and at a smaller distance from the foot of mount Ossa. In this situation his soldiers enjoyed every convenience in point of wood and most salubrious water, and all the southern districts of Thessaly lay open to their incursions²⁷.

Perseus had not continued long at Sycurium when the consul, having penetrated without interruption through the defiles of Epirus and Athamania, arrived on the western frontier of Thessaly, and encamped on the river Peneus, in the neighbourhood of Larissa. There the Romans were soon joined by Eumenes, who had left Pergamus in company with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus. Philetærus, a fourth brother, remained as viceroy in Pergamus. Athenæus stopped short in his way from Asia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, with about 2,000 infantry, to guard a place of great importance, as we have seen, in the former Macedonian war. Eumenes and Attalus joined the forces of Licinius with 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Contingents also arrived from the Achæans, Etolians, and some states of Thessaly, which did not, however, collectively amount to the number of men furnished singly by Pergamus.

To provoke the enemy to battle, Perseus extended his ravages twenty miles southward to Pheræ. The territory of this allied city being abandoned to its fate, the tame inactivity of the Romans inspired the king with more than usual courage. With a party of light troops; he proceeded to attack their advanced posts; and having succeeded in a bold skirmish, obliged them to draw their whole forces within their camp. For several succeeding days, he advanced to their entrenchments, thinking to provoke their cavalry and light infantry to sally, and thereby to obtain an opportunity of intercepting their return. The Romans, however, kept within their ramparts; and as part of the road between the two camps was so deficient in good water, that Perseus was

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The consul
Licinius,
with his
allies, ar-
rives on the
western
frontier of
Thessaly.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated near
Larissa.
Olymp.
clii. 2.
B. C. 171.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 51—54.

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obliged to carry with him this article from Sycurium, he determined to move his camp within five miles of the enemy, to avoid the repetition of fatiguing excursions in the heat of summer, through a parched country involved in clouds of dust. This movement, which escaped the observation of the Romans, enabled him to advance unperceived, next day at early dawn, within five hundred paces of their camp. An alarm was given from the gates: the Romans flew to arms: their horse and light infantry sallied from their entrenchments. An action ensued, in which all the light troops and cavalry on both sides were engaged, and which ended decidedly in favour of the king. The Romans were repelled with the loss of 2,400 men²⁸; and the battle would have been fatal to the whole of their cavalry, had not Eumenes and the Thessalians, with equal skill and valour, sustained the desultory fury of the Thracians, and afforded protection to their flying friends within their own regular and still threatening ranks. Upon observing the retreat of the enemy's cavalry, Leonnatus and Hippas seasonably advanced with the phalanx, and exhorted the king to second his good fortune by immediately assaulting the Roman camp. The campaign might have ended with success in this promising enterprise, when Evander the Cretan, the same man who was accused of way-laying Eumenes and attempting to destroy him in his journey to Delphi, interposed his pestilent counsel. The crafty Cretan well knew his master, and probably read in his countenance some disinclination to the bold measure proposed to him. He therefore conjured him, not to lose the fruits of his victory by an attempt to make it greater. That the battle, which he had already won, would either procure for him an immediate peace, or gain for him so many new allies, that he would be enabled to prosecute the war with little danger. Conformably with this advice, Perseus checked the ardour of his troops in the moment of victory;

The Macedonians hindered by the king from prosecuting their success.

²⁸ Ibid. c. 59. Plutarch makes the best troops, and 600 prisoners. loss greater; 2,500 of the consul's Plut. in Paul. Emil.

and his conduct appeared next day equally imprudent and pusillanimous, even in his own eyes, when he found that the Romans, fearful of being attacked, had availed themselves of the intervening night to remove beyond the Peneus²⁹. This timidity in the enemy, concurring with symptoms of alienation in Greek cities hitherto most zealous in the cause of Rome, flattered Perseus with the hope of renewing his negotiations with better success than formerly. In useless overtures for peace, and in a petty war of outposts and foraging parties on both sides the Peneus, a considerable time elapsed without any action of importance, until the Romans took post at Phalanna, on the northern bank of the river, and the enemy encamped nearly opposite to them at Mopsium³⁰.

In this situation, Perseus learned from deserters that the Romans, intirely unguarded, had spread widely to reap the surrounding fields. He quickly passed the river with about three thousand cavalry, intermixed with some light troops, ordering his heavy infantry to follow with all convenient speed. To the disgrace of the consul's vigilance, the reapers were surprised, and pursued with great slaughter; a thousand carts laden with corn, and above six hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. Not contented with this advantage, Perseus despatched to his camp the corn and prisoners, under a guard of three hundred Cretans, recalled his men from pursuing the reapers, and determined to attack their nearest station, guarded by eight hundred Romans under Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune. Pompey perceiving his design, had just time to quit a post, which he judged to be untenable, and to occupy a neighbouring eminence, which the advantage of the ground, he hoped, would enable him to defend. The place being difficult of access, was assailed by missile weapons, and particularly by those of a kind first employed by the Macedonians in the present war, and named from a compound denoting the dart and sling, whose powers the *cestrosphendone* united. The Romans form-

New advantages on the side of the Macedonians. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

²⁹ Ibid. c. 57—60.

³⁰ Ibid. c. 65.

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ed themselves into a close body, with thickly compacted shields, the better to resist this deadly instrument; but the Macedonians compelled them again to divide, by threatening on all sides to climb the eminence. In opposing these separate attacks, the besieged suffered dreadfully from the sharpness of darts discharged with unusual velocity, and were on the point of being totally destroyed, when the consul brought to their relief, besides his own light infantry and horse, about two thousand Numidians, who had recently joined his standard. Perseus endeavoured to withstand this new enemy, sending orders at the same time for his phalanx to advance to his aid with all expedition.

Rendered
unavailing
by an ac-
cident.

The phalanx hastened to join him, but in passing the narrow defiles leading from the northern bank of the Peneus, met under the Cretan escort above mentioned, the train of loaded carts and Roman prisoners³¹. The roads being thus interrupted, a dreadful confusion ensued; the prisoners were put to death, and the carts with their yoked horses were precipitated from the heights on either side to make way for the soldiers. This tumult had scarcely ended, when a new obstacle appeared, Perseus with his flying cavalry. It became necessary for the foot as well as horse to give way; and such was the trepidation of their retreat, that, had the Romans ventured to pursue them, they might have obtained a complete victory. The hostile armies returned to their respective camps; and as winter was fast approaching, Perseus, after throwing a strong garrison into Gonni, thought it advisable to move towards Macedon. The consul also prepared for quartering his troops during winter in Thessaly and Bœotia, of which latter province, as well as of the neighbouring isle of Eubœa, the fleet, under the pretor Lucretius, had nearly effected the conquest. At sea, the Romans were completely the masters: their fleet had been joined at Chalcis by two Carthaginian quinqueremes; by two triremes from Heracleæ in Pontus; by four triremes from Chalcedon and Samos respectively;

Both ar-
mies go
into winter
quarters.

³¹ Ibid. c. 66.

and by five Rhodian quadriremes. But as their own navy more than sufficed for all the work to be done, the zeal of their allies was thanked, and their services were dispensed with³². CHAP.
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The issue of the campaign had nowise corresponded to the high hopes with which it was undertaken. The Romans obtained not any advantages worthy of their mighty preparations; their victories had been balanced by still greater defeats; and the evils done to their enemies were far surpassed by the injuries which they inflicted on their allies. In the inactivity of their winter quarters especially, the commanders by sea and land tarnished the honour of their country by innumerable acts of pride, avarice, and cruelty. Their unworthiness was no secret at Rome, and successors to them were appointed. The consul Aulus Hostilius was sent to take the command of the army; the fleet was committed to Hortensius. These new commanders were equally inefficient with their predecessors. Hostilius could not penetrate within the rugged frontiers of Macedon; and Hortensius, active only in mischief, aggravated the extortions and insults long loudly complained of. Before their command expired, the senate was crowded with deputies from many maritime commonwealths on the coasts of Europe and Asia. These embassies came either from places which had not yet experienced the tyranny of Rome, or from those actually smarting under its lash. The cities of Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, and Lampsacus spoke the language of allies to great and generous protectors, and wished only to know in what way their resources might be employed most usefully against Perseus, the common enemy. But Coronæa in Bœotia, Abdera in Thrace, above all, Chalcis, in Eubœa, sent to demand vengeance. The calamities of the last named city were expressed by Mictio, who came to the senatehouse in a litter, being disabled in his limbs. He said, "that the use of his tongue only was left him to bewail the

Misbehaviour of the Romans to their allies. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 170.

The new commanders Hostilius and Hortensius unsuccessful

Complaints against them and Lucretius, late commander of the Roman fleet.

³² Ibid. c. 56.

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sufferings of his country, first under Lucretius, and now under Hortensius. That the cities Ænos, Maronea, Amphipolis, and others, which shut their gates against the Romans, flourished in wealth and peace; but that Chalcis, which had received them as friends, had been beggared and enslaved. That the ornaments even of its temples had been sent to embellish the villas of Italy. That, instead of keeping on ship-board as it was their duty, the crews of the Roman fleets were continually on shore, during summer as well as winter. That profligate sailors, alike careless of what they did and what they said, lived in free quarters among the wives and children of the insulted Chalcidians." The senate disavowed and reprobated these odious proceedings; sent commissioners to examine into the injuries that had been done; and, as far as possible, to redress them: a fine to the amount of three thousand pounds was imposed on Lucretius³³ lately commanding the fleet. We are not informed of the penalties to which his accomplices were condemned; there is reason to believe that they fell infinitely short of their deservings.

Perseus' successes in Thrace and Illyricum obstructed by his sordid avarice.

The worthlessness of the Romans intrusted with command proved highly beneficial to the affairs of Perseus. His partisans increased in most of the republics of Greece. In Thrace, his ally Cotys, king of the Odrysians, being attacked by some hostile chieftains of that country, Perseus marched to his relief, and enabled him to defeat the Thracians in arms, supported by a considerable body of Pergamenians. On the side of Illyricum he was not less successful. Appius Claudius, who had been sent with eight thousand men into that province by the consul Hostilius, fell into a snare laid for him by the citizens of Uscana, a town on the frontiers of Macedon, and lost the greater part of his army. After this disgrace of the Romans, Gentius, the most considerable prince in Illyria, listened readily to the amicable proposals of the king of Macedon. To raise a numerous army of his warlike countrymen, Gentius needed nothing but

³³ Tit. Liv. l. xliii. c. 4—9.

money, which the opulence of Perseus could have supplied in abundance³⁴. But the avarice of the latter trembled to diminish the treasures which his slow economy had accumulated. Perseus, through his parsimony, not only lost the seasonable aid of the Illyrians, but much alienated his useful ally Cotys, a Thracian by birth but not in character, since he was a man of real ability in the council as well as in the field: of great sobriety and temperance, alike superior to anger and to pleasure, and endeared to all who knew him by his humanity and clemency³⁵.

The imprudence of the Roman commanders, in listening to false reports, obliged the leading men among the Epirots to seek the protection of Macedon. There was a certain Charops of Epirus, who had formed a close connexion with the Romans during their war with Philip; and who, after the termination of that war, sent to Rome a grandson of his own name, that he might be trained to Roman discipline³⁶. The younger Charops, through the merit of the elder, obtained the countenance of many powerful patricians; and, on his return to Epirus, being a man of a light head and a depraved heart, never ceased to traduce to his foreign friends the best and worthiest of his countrymen. Under Licinius Crassus, the first consul sent against Perseus, many persons of distinction, whom Charops had known in Rome, were employed in subordinate commands. His calumnies, therefore, began to operate with great efficacy. The Romans talked of sending as hostages into Italy several suspected persons, particularly Cephalo, an Epirot of great probity, and deservedly the most popular man in the whole country. They had recently, on similar accusations, required several Etolians to be surrendered to them. Cephalo, while it was yet time, had recourse to Perseus, and prevailed with all who acted with him in the republic, to throw themselves into the arms of that prince.

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Calumnies
of the Epi-
rot Charops
against his
country-
men.

³⁴ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 8. Tit. Liv. l. llii. c. 20.

³⁵ Polyb. l. xxvii. c. 10.

³⁶ Id. l. xxvii. c. 13.

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The alliance, however, was concealed with due caution; so that the consul Hostilius, who succeeded to Licinius, had begun to pass through Epirus, when he was admonished by the party adverse to Cephalo of the danger attending that measure³⁷.

New commanders
Marcius
Philippus,
and Marci-
us Figulus.
Olymp.
clii. 4.
B. C. 169.

Amidst the loss of armies and the defection of allies, the Romans began to look out for a new commander to conduct the war against Macedon; and, as if they had thought that the same man who had overreached Perseus in negotiation, was also the likeliest to defeat him in battle, they made choice of Quintius Marcus Philippus. This new consul joined the army in Thessaly; his coadjutor, the pretor Marcus Figulus, took the command of the fleet at Chalcis. They brought with them new levies to the amount of 6,000 Roman infantry, and an equal number of Italian allies. The cavalry, accompanying both divisions collectively, did not exceed 450.

Their plan
of cam-
paign.

It was concerted between the commanders by land and sea, that while the consul Marcus Philippus broke into the nearest province of Macedon on the side of Thessaly, the pretor Marcus Figulus should direct the exertions of his fleet against the seacoasts of that kingdom; which, being indented by the two great bays of Therma and Strymon, infolding as it were in their arms, the two lesser ones of Singus and Torona, extended above three hundred miles from Pella to Philippi, and contained much valuable territory and many flourishing cities. The ardour of preparation, and the enterprising character of the consul, who, though he had passed his sixtieth year, and had to contend with an unwieldy corpulency, displayed all the fire and activity of youth, brought to his camp in Thessaly, among other deputies from Greece, those of the Achæans headed by Polybius the historian, who, in the vigour of manhood³⁸ thus enjoyed an opportunity of indulging

They are
joined by
Achæan
deputies,
particular-
ly by Poly-
bius the
historian.

³⁷ Id. *ibid*.

³⁸ Eleven years before this period, he had been named in company with his father Lycortas as ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes. But this commission was conferred on him by particular favour in his 23d year, and eight years before the

age required by law for the exercise of high political or military functions. In his 34th year, being commander of horse in Achaia, he was sent ambassador to the consul Marcus. Conf. Polyb. l. xxv. c. 7. and l. xxviii. c. 6, 10, 11.

his own boundless curiosity by accompanying the Romans in one of their most memorable expeditions. The province of Pieria, into which they had to penetrate, was divided from Thessaly by a broad belt of highlands extending inland from the Thermaic gulph, and affording, in the length of about forty miles, only three practicable passes. The western passage, remotest from the coast, led across the Cambunian mountains, and had been vainly attempted in the preceding campaign. Another road, frequented by merchants and pilgrims, had been adorned for their security with a temple of Apollo, and thence derived the name of Pythium. The third route was marked, on the side of Thessaly, by the lake Ascuris. It crossed a mountain named, from its eight crests, Octoluphus, one of which was called Eudierus, because, notwithstanding its great elevation, it abounded with sparkling fountains of fine water. Beyond Eudierus there stood a still higher mountain, from which there was an abrupt descent of seven miles, to a narrow and intricate valley, which led eastward to the forest named Callipeucè, and well entitled to this appellation from its display of beautiful pines. From Callipeucè you proceeded to the open plains between Lebethra and Heracleum, at the foot of mount Olympus, and only twelve miles from the Macedonian city Dium, near to which Perseus had pitched his camp. The consul preferred the road by Octoluphus; a rude ascent of twenty miles, a more abrupt descent of seven, and, from thence a perplexed passage of twenty-five, to the plain adjacent to Heracleum. In this undertaking, he must lay his account with combating at once the difficulties of the country, and the powerful opposition that would be made to him by the enemy. Perseus had stationed 10,000 men to guard the passes of the Cambunian mountains; he had posted a still greater number in the route by Octoluphus. The neighbourhood of his camp, it might be suspected, would enable him to send timely assistance,

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XXII.The passes
from Thes-
saly into
Macedon.The consul
prefers the
route by
Octolu-
phus.

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whichever way the Romans might attempt to penetrate³⁹. The consul began his expedition by sending 4,000 light troops, commanded by his own son Q. Marcius and by M. Claudius, that, by occupying posts on the way, they might provide for the safe progress of the army. He followed with his whole cavalry and infantry; and with twenty two African elephants. The first part of the road was so difficult, that the light troops under young Marcius scarcely advanced fifteen miles in two days to Eudierus. They encamped around its refreshing fountains; and proceeded, on the following day, to the higher hill beyond it, which they occupied in sight of 12,000 Macedonians posted in that neighbourhood. From thence they sent messengers to the consul on his way from the lake Ascuris. He arrived, and encamped on the eminence already seized, from which he could behold not only the enemy's post about a mile distant, but their larger camp near Dium, with the adjoining seacoast, the river Helicon, and the green valley of Pieria, celebrated by poets as the cradle of the muses⁴⁰. The sight fired his soldiers with delight; they grasped already in fancy the rich spoils of Macedon, and their impatience scarcely allowed them a day's halt to recover the fatigues of their march.

Views from
the hill of
Eudierus
the ene-
my's en-
campment.

Difficulties
of passing
Oetolu-
phus, par-
ticularly
with ele-
phants:
how obvi-
ated.

On the two following days there happened only desultory skirmishes of light troops; for the nature of the ground admitted not of regular combat. The Romans had overcome great difficulties, but they had still greater to surmount. They had indeed carried with them food for many days, but the state of their affairs required them to advance speedily; a matter of much danger, had Perseus been an able general. That prince either vainly paraded along the seacoast with his cavalry, or remained altogether inactive in his camp at Dium, while Marcius, a large and heavy old man, scaled steep mountains, and prepared for abrupt descents through paths unexplored, and which, had they been known, would only have ap-

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 2. & seq.

⁴⁰ Plin. l. iv. c. 10.

peared the more frightful. Having left a detachment under the tribune Popilius, on the eminence first seized, to keep the enemy in play, he sent forward Attalus of Pergamus, and Misagenes the Numidian, at the head of their respective countrymen. They were followed in the woody and concealed paths by the Roman cavalry and baggage. The legions formed the rear. In the first four miles there was much confusion and loss among the beasts of burden! The elephants, above all, greatly increased the disorder. When they met with any unexpected obstacles, they attempted to throw their riders; and their fierce roaring occasioned great terror among the horses. To enable them to descend safely, a method was contrived for lessening the steepness. Platforms of stout planks, projecting from the upper rocks, were propped by strong beams rising from those below. These platforms, having only a moderate inclination, were extended in succession down the shelving sides of the declivity, and served as a chain of bridges, each of which was about thirty feet long. The elephants were conveyed from the end of the upper bridge to the beginning of that beneath it, by removing the beams on which the former was supported. Through this contrivance, the army advanced in the day time seven miles, the soldiers making more use of their hands than of their feet, and often rolling themselves down with their armour; so that in this disordered state, even the guides, who had undertaken to lead the way, dreaded any opposition from Perseus, as big with ruin. At night they found themselves in the bottom of a hollow valley, on which firm resting place they waited next day until they should be joined by the detachment left under Popilius, since, in the impossibility to return by the ground which they had descended, the possession of the height which he occupied was no longer necessary to them. The next morning, they crossed with united forces the forest of Callipeuce; and, on the following day, penetrated to the plains between Libethra and Heracleum, within a few miles of the seacoast, without beholding an enemy ⁴¹.

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 5.

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Strange
panic of
Perseus—
his absurd
orders.

Perseus was indulging in the warm bath, when news arrived that the Romans had crossed the mountains. He sprang, frantic, from his seat, exclaiming, that he had been betrayed by the generals whom he had sent to guard the passes, and that his kingdom was conquered without a battle. In the first paroxysm of rage and phrensy, he gave orders for retreating to Pydna, twenty miles north of Dium, without forgetting, in the midst of his trepidation, to command the removal, from the latter city, of the twenty-five equestrian statues, erected in honour of Alexander's companions, and which, it should seem, had been carefully repaired since the desolating irruption of the Etolians. At the same time he despatched two of his friends, Nicias and Andronicus, that the former might cause his vast treasures at Pella, amounting to nearly five millions sterling, to be buried in the sea, and that the latter might destroy by fire the ships and arsenals at Thessalonica⁴². His panic, however, was altogether unreasonable; for Heracleum shut its gates against the Romans; and the adjacent plain, on which they encamped, was accessible on the side of Thessaly, only by the narrow valley of Tempè: and led into Macedon only by the difficult defile of Dium. Had Perseus remained firm in that strong city, which, with its lake and temple, occupied almost the whole space between mount Olympus and the sea, and been careful to support his posts in the gorges of Tempe, the Romans must have been cooped up in a country ill calculated to supply their wants, or compelled to extricate themselves from their uneasy situation by fighting to much disadvantage. But the madness of Perseus, who recalled his garrisons from Tempe, as well as all his other detachments, and fled northwards from Dium to Pydna, relieved the invaders from this distressing alternative.

March and
counter-
march of
the Ro-
mans.

The consul immediately sent orders to the lieutenant left behind him in Thessaly, to secure his communications on that side by seizing the passes which the Macedonians had abandoned; and after taking proper precautions for exploring the road, proceeded in two marches to Dium. He encamped

⁴² Ibid. c. 6.

in the vicinity of Jupiter's temple, the more surely to guard that holy place from violation. Having entered Dium, he was surprised to find, in a town of inconsiderable magnitude, so many ornamental edifices, and such a profusion of works of art. At sight of these riches, he could scarcely persuade himself that Perseus' flight did not conceal some ambush. But upon a careful examination, all appeared to him safe; so that leaving the maritime cities Pydna and Methonè on his right, he advanced in the direct line to Pella. Having proceeded two days on his march, he began to suffer from scarcity of provisions; and the farther he removed from Thessaly, he doubted not but his difficulties, in that point, would increase. To whatever reproaches he might thereby be exposed, it seemed necessary to return southward. In this direction, he passed beyond Dium, five miles, to Phyla, where he found corn and other necessaries provided in abundance by Lucretius, the officer whom he had ordered to occupy the valley of Tempe.

The sudden retreat of the Romans brought back Perseus to his senses. Having collected his forces at Pydna, he returned towards Dium, and fortified a camp between the latter place and Phyla, on the northern bank of the Enipeus; a scanty rivulet in summer, but in winter a fierce torrent, rolling in a deep rocky channel, from mount Olympus to the Thermaic gulph. In this situation he hoped to defend the frontier of Pieria, until the advancing season obliged the enemy to go into quarters in Thessaly.

Meanwhile the consul had sent a detachment under Popilius to take possession of Heracleum. The place was situated five miles south of Phyla, and nearly midway between Dium and Tempe. Popilius invited it to surrender, and experience the Roman clemency. But the inhabitants trusted to the strength of their city built on a rock, overhanging the river Sus. The siege afforded nothing memorable, except that the wall was taken, as in sport, by some Roman youths, through a contrivance which they had learned from the games of the

Perseus
encamps
between
Dium and
Phyla.

The walls
of Heracle-
um taken
by a con-
trivance
learned
from the
games of
the circus.

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circus. In the intervals of the horse and chariot races, which properly constituted those entertainments, it had been usual, among other martial pastimes, for parties of about sixty armed youths, to throw themselves into a figure resembling the roof of a house. The middle ranks stood upright, each man covering his head with his shield; the ranks which followed on either hand gradually stooped lower and lower, until the outermost rested on their knees. In this manner, the shields of the several ranks, descending successively below each other, composed a firm and solid fabric, upon which combatants, mounting on either side, sometimes skirmished with each other on the middle of the edifice, and sometimes flourishing their weapons, made a show of defending its extremities, or of annoying an enemy from this vantage ground. Such was the mode of assault employed against Heracleum, only that the outward men, instead of raising their shields on high, projected them, for safety, as in real battle⁴³.

The Romans and Eumenes unsuccessful on the seacoast.

With the capture of Heracleum, the campaign of the consul Marcius closed. He encamped in its neighbourhood, and prepared for winter, by making choice of fit places for granaries, and by sending part of his soldiers to repair the roads on the side of Thessaly, and to raise buildings, at convenient distances, for lodging the carriers and cattle employed in the conveyance of provisions from that quarter. During the operations of the Roman army in Pieria, the fleet under Marcius Figulus had waged a fruitless war against the enemy's seacoast. Thessalonica, Antigonía, Cassandria, and Demetrias, cities, all of which owed their foundation and their names to persons illustrious in the present history, were successively attacked with more loss on the side of the assailants, than on that of the defenders. King Eumenes shared the mortification of these unprofitable expeditions; and abruptly sailed towards Pergamus, not a little disgusted with the Roman commanders, both by sea and land. The fleet under Figulus,

⁴³ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 1.

much weakened in numbers, returned to Oreum in Eubœa, or the neighbouring isle of Sciathus⁴⁴. In another scene of the war, affairs were not more prosperous. The Illyrian army, commanded by the pretor Appius Claudius, had suffered a severe defeat under the walls of Uscana. To repair this loss, Appius demanded five thousand men from the Achæans. The demand was communicated by the Achæans to their ambassador Polybius, who still attended the consul Marcius in Macedonia. The consul, upon the first intimation of the business, desired Polybius to return to his country, and prevent the Achæans from sending the troops required of them. This was done with an affectation of sparing the blood and money of Achaia; but suspicion assigned a more likely motive in the mean jealousy of Marcius; he feared lest the war, conducted by another against the Illyrians, should prove more successful than his own campaign against the Macedonians⁴⁵. The principal effect of this campaign had been to expose the strange levity of Perseus. When he recovered from his cowardly phrensy, he countermanded the orders which he had given to Andronicus, for burning his arsenal at Thessalonica; an absurd commission which that prudent friend had delayed to execute. At the same time he sent word to Pella, to save his treasures from the sea, into which he had ordered them to be thrown. Nicias, to whom that mad business was intrusted, had complied, indeed, with the letter of his first orders. The buried wealth of Perseus, however, was again recovered by expert divers; but such was the tyrant's cruelty, that in the vain hope of obliterating his own shame, all the persons concerned in these transactions, Andronicus, Nicias, nay the unhappy divers, are said to have fallen victims to those secret arts of destruction, in which he was an adept⁴⁶.

The consul Marcius had no sooner established his winter quarters, than he sent an account of his proceedings to Rome, and requested that he might be seasonably supplied with

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Appius
Claudius
equally un-
fortunate
in Illyri-
cum.

Perseus'
folly and
cruelty.

The consul
Marcius re-
quests sup-
plies.

⁴⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 13. ⁴⁵ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 11. ⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 10.

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Emilius
consul with
Macedon
for his province—his
character.
Olymp.
ciii. 1.
B. C. 168.

The remonstrances of allies against the war, and three consular armies successively baffled in the prosecution of it, made the Romans peculiarly anxious about the appointment of a new general. The decision by lot seconded their wishes: it fell on Lucius Emilius Paulus, whose father, of the same name, had signalized at Cannæ his prudent foresight and high heroic valour. The son of this illustrious Roman inherited his sagacity and magnanimity, but had passed his sixtieth year, without enjoying a fit theatre for the full exhibition of his virtues. While the Scipios combated Antiochus the Great, in Asia, Emilius was employed, as pretor, in quelling obscure rebellions in Spain. Thirteen years before he assumed the command against Perseus, he had, in his first consulship broken the power of the Ligurians, an obstinate but ignoble nation. From this time forward, the changed manners of Rome, in consequence of her eastern victo-

⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 14, et seq.

ries, interrupted the public honours of Emilius, who, amidst shameless examples of rapacity and venality, preserved the honesty, economy, and scorn for ill gotten wealth, which distinguished the best ages of the republic. During his long retirement, he lived remote in the country, wholly dedicated to the education of two sons, worthy of his care, since the elder, being taken into the family of Fabius Maximus, and the younger, into that of Scipio Africanus, both became ornaments to the illustrious houses into which they had respectively been adopted⁴⁷.

Upon entering on his office of consul, Emilius moved the senate to send commissioners across the Hadriatic, to learn the real situation of affairs. The commissioners returned with the utmost despatch, and reported that nothing had been done against the enemy, sufficient to compensate the sufferings of the Romans in passing Octoluphus. The smallest impression had not yet been made on the frontier province of Pieria; where Perseus was strongly encamped on the river Enipeus, bidding defiance to the consul on its opposite bank. Great benefit might have resulted from a diversion on the side of Illyricum; but Appius Claudius, who commanded there, was himself in most imminent danger of being cut off. The operations of the fleet had been equally unsuccessful: many sailors had perished by disease; many had returned home, particularly those belonging to Sicily. The fleet of Eumenes had arrived and departed as unaccountably as if it had moved at the will of the capricious winds; although his brother Attalus still remained steady to the Romans, and had on every occasion signalized his zeal for their interest⁴⁸.

This intelligence had a tendency both to hasten and augment preparations. It was decreed by the senate, that four legions should be raised with a proportional number of allies. Two legions were destined to serve in Illyricum, under the prætor Lucius Anicius, appointed to supersede Appius

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Commissioners sent at his desire to examine the state of the war—their report.

Reinforcements prepared by the Romans.

⁴⁷ Plutarch in Paul. Emil.

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 20.

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Claudius; and enjoined, when the state of affairs permitted him, to cooperate with the consul, in Macedon, by an invasion of its Illyrian frontier, a reinforcement of five thousand sailors was voted to the pretor Cneius Octavius, named to command the fleet instead of Marcius Figulus. Thirty thousand new levies were thus speedily assembled at Brundisium, and prepared to embark in the transports ready to receive them.

Emilius' speech to the centuries at parting.

At his departure from Rome, to take the command of his legions, Emilius assembled the centuries, and addressed them to the following purpose. "Your congratulations with me have been excited, fellow citizens! not by my elevation to the consulship, but, as I perceive clearly, by my attainment of Macedon for my province; doubtless, because you expect that, through my means, this arduous war will be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. Providence, I trust, overruled the lots by which this momentous business devolved on me; and the gods, I hope, will prosper my designs, and complete their own work. These, however, are matters of opinion; but one thing I affirm with confidence, that every exertion shall be made on my part to deserve glorious success. You may rely with full assurance on the truth of whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; on which account it will become you to hold in contempt all such unwarranted rumours as have been spread in the present war more than in any other. In every circle and almost at every table, there are persons ready to explain how armies should be led into Macedon; where camps should be pitched, magazines established, posts occupied; on what occasions it will be proper to fight, and when to decline an engagement. Not contented with expatiating on their own infallible plans, they arraign the commanders who deviate from them, as on a day of trial. Such proceedings can have no other tendency but to perplex, damp, and dispirit those intrusted with your armies, for there are few men proof against the assaults of popular obloquy; and who, like the great Fabius, can endure to see their reputation lessen through the idle loquacity of

ignorance and conceit, rather than maintain and augment it with serious mischief to your affairs. If there are any here present, who think themselves qualified to assist me by their counsel, let them not refuse to accompany me into Macedon. They shall be supplied with ships, horses, tents; even their travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if they decline this offer, let them cease directing from the city, the concerns of the camp, and controlling from shore the navigation of a vessel, in which their own slothful cowardice only hindered them from embarking." Shortly after holding this assembly, the consul left Rome with a retinue unusually numerous, and towards the beginning of April set sail from Brundisium⁴⁸.

During the suspension of military operations, occasioned by a severe winter, Perseus had been busy in negotiation with such neighbouring powers as either jealousy of the Romans, or his own immense treasures were likely to engage in his interest. He promised to Gentius the Illyrian three hundred talents; but ten talents only had been forwarded to Scodra, a city twenty miles from the sea, and the capital of that credulous barbarian, who being naturally of a weak mind, impaired by habitual drunkenness, no sooner received this small sum by way of earnest, than he threw into prison Perperna and Petillius, two Romans just sent to him as ambassadors. The remainder of the money stipulated was on its way to Scodra; but Perseus had taken the precaution to desire those who escorted it to travel slowly, and to wait orders on the frontier. Upon the intelligence that Gentius had violated characters held sacred, and thereby provoked the Romans beyond remission, the money was arrested in its progress, and the bags containing it, though sealed up by Gentius' agent with the signet of that prince, were conveyed back to the treasury of Pella. Notwithstanding this disgraceful transaction, which could neither be concealed nor excused, Perseus availed himself of his treaty with an ally whom he

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Perseus' sordid negotiations with the Illyrians and Bastarnæ.

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 22. Conf. Plutarch in Emi'.

had so grossly deluded, to promote his interests with the Rhodians. Gentius had sent to him two Illyrians, who upon seeing the money safely sealed up, and despatched to their master, had orders to join Macedonian ambassadors already commissioned to Rhodes, and to forward all their views. The union of the two kings increased the confidence of the Rhodians in their own importance as mediators of a general peace. They declared publicly their resolution to effect this purpose: if persuasion should not avail, they determined to have recourse to arms. In his transactions with Eumenes and the Bastarnæ, Perseus might have been still more successful, had not a sordid avarice marred his projects. With the Bastarnæ under Clondicus and other chieftains, he had renewed the alliance contracted by his father Philip; and a great body of these barbarians, chiefly cavalry, had advanced to the Macedonian province of Medica, on the frontier of Thrace, to sell to him their assistance. The price was to be ten pieces of gold for every horseman; five for every foot soldier; and a thousand for each of the leaders. The sum would have been considerable, since the number of the Bastarnæ exceeded 20,000; but no purchase money could have been too dear for such powerful auxiliaries. Perseus lost their cooperation by sending to them in Medica flattering messages instead of money, without which the Bastarnæ declared that they would not advance a step further. They did not offer violence to his ambassadors who treated with them, nor retaliate, for the king's dishonesty, on his helpless subjects, but taking the road homeward through Thrace, lived at free quarters on their way⁴⁹.

Secret negotiation between him and Eumenes fruitless.

Notwithstanding the personal animosity between Perseus and Eumenes, strong causes concurred to unite their interests. Eumenes, as we have seen, had been alienated from the Romans, in consequence of their change of maxims, and begun to perceive that the same power which had raised Pergamus to splendour, was the like-

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Emil. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 26, 27. Appian Macedon, p. 583.

liest, under new circumstances, to replunge it in obscurity. He wished to have Macedon for a bulwark between himself and those jealous allies, whom any slight cause of disgust might convert into irreconcilable enemies. The Romans, he thought, were weary of a tedious and unsuccessful war; and Perseus, he well knew, had from the beginning desired peace. This therefore was the great end at which he aimed, and for the effecting of which he entered, on pretence of exchange of prisoners, into a secret correspondence with the king of Macedon. Their negotiation was carefully concealed; but being conducted on both sides by Cretans, the ordinary agents in all kinds of perfidy, it was whispered that Eumenes had promised to withhold all further assistance from the Romans on the payment of a thousand talents; and that he had undertaken, upon receiving five hundred talents more, to procure peace for that prince, or to join him in the war. Whatever may have been in this report, the dishonesty and vileness of Perseus put an end to the negotiation ⁵⁰.

Having failed in the attempt to gain Eumenes of Pergamus, Perseus could not expect to meet with better success in his applications to the kings of Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia was father-in-law to Eumenes, through whose good offices he had been reconciled to the Romans, after the part which he had taken against them in their war with Antiochus the Great. Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria was engaged in projects, as will appear hereafter, altogether incompatible with any exertions in favour of the king of Macedon. Ptolemy Philometer of Egypt had recently attained his fourteenth year, the age of majority in that kingdom, and upon the death of his mother Cleopatra, hitherto regent, had been solemnly enthroned at Alexandria, and begun to administer the government in his own name. But his counsels were guided by Eulæus an effeminate eunuch, and by Lennæus an incapable minister. Instead of

He obtains no assistance from the other Greek kings of the East—their situation at that time.

⁵⁰ Appian. Macedon. c. xvi. p. l. xxix. c. 3. l. xxx. c. 1
533. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 25, 26. Polyb.

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Successes
of the Ma-
cedonians
by sea.
Olymp.
oliii. 1.
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improving his domestic force, and the resources which might have nourished it, these men encouraged him to confide in the arms of Rome, his hereditary protector⁵¹.

Disappointed of allies, partly by his own sordid avarice, and partly by the strange want of precautionary policy among the Greek kings of the East, Perseus was under the necessity of exerting himself, singlehanded, against a far superior enemy. Before the Roman reinforcements arrived in the spring under Emilius and Octavius, he fitted out from Cassandria about fifty vessels, of the long piratical form, well armed and stoutly manned, with orders to scour the Ægean sea, and by every means to annoy the Romans and those inclined to succour them. This armament was intrusted to Antenor and Calippus, commanders of skill and enterprise. By establishing signal posts on mount Athos and other towering promontories or rocky islands, they gained speedy intelligence of the course necessary to be pursued, either for protecting their own trade or for destroying the transports of the enemy. Having steered for Tenedos, they relieved a large fleet of their own merchantmen blocked up by some ships of war belonging to Eumenes. From thence they directed their course to Chios, where they found thirty-five vessels, deriving their name of Hippagogues from their use in transporting horses. They contained a body of Gallic cavalry, which had been sent to join Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, still encamped with the Romans near the southern bank of the Enipeus. The Pergamenian captains had not the smallest suspicion of falling in with an enemy. They believed the ships of war which they saw at a distance to be Roman or Pergamenian; "perhaps Attalus himself was on board, or they were vessels containing troops whom that prince had thought fit to send home from the Roman camp." But the singular shape of the vessels, the briskness of their rowing, and their prows properly

⁵¹ Diodorus Siculus Excerpt. de Virtut. p. 579. Justin, l xxxiv. c. 2.

prepared for combat, left no room to doubt of their hostile intention. The Hippagogues fled in consternation, for they were awkward vessels, and the Gauls on board them could not endure the sea, much less be induced to fight on it. Part of them escaped to the friendly shore of Erythræ; another suffered shipwreck on the opposite coast of Chios; and, careless of their horses, the Gauls made all haste to the city of that name. The Macedonians landed and pursued them; and the Chians having shut their gates, eight hundred Gauls were slain, and two hundred taken; the horses were either drowned or hamstrung; not more than twenty of remarkable beauty were transported, together with the prisoners, to the harbour of Thessalonica⁵². The Macedonians then sailed to the Cyclades, and were successful in taking or sinking many of the enemy's ships among those islands. But the central and sacred Delos was the region of eternal peace. This privileged spot, distinguished for commerce and superstition, and in which, as we shall have occasion to explain, ten thousand slaves were frequently brought to market in a single day⁵³, afforded its equal and inviolate protection to the Romans, Pergamenians, and Macedonians. The three nations assembled promiscuously in its temple, without entertaining the smallest jealousy of each other.

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Inviolability of Delos
—an asylum to all parties.

Meanwhile the consul Emilius crossed the Hadriatic with his coadjutors Octavius and Anicius. Operations began in Illyricum, where Anicius arrived in time with his reinforcements to save the unfortunate army under Appius Claudius, and to protect the faithful allies of Epidamnus and Apollonia. Gentius, the fiercest enemy in that quarter, had followed up his traitorous blow struck at the Roman ambassadors, by marching southward, at the head of fifteen thousand men, into the territory of their confederates, while eighty of his long boats were sent to ravage the adjacent coasts. Anicius first defeated him at sea, and took many of his vessels. Hav-

Gentius the
Illyrian
made captive with
his family.
Olymp.
c'iii. L.
B. C. 168.

⁵² Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 28.

⁵³ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668.

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ing then joined to his own army the remains of that under Appius, still encamped on the river Genusus, midway between Apollonia and Epidamnus, he drove the invaders from those districts, and pursued them northwards to Scodra, sixty miles distant from Epidamnus. Scodra was the capital and main stronghold of Gentius. It derived its name from mount Scodrus⁵⁴, the highest in that region, and which views from its top the coast of Illyricum on the west, the barbarous Dardanians on the east, and the inland provinces of Macedon on the south. The river Orius, flowing from this mountain into the Hadriatic, is joined by the Clausula and Barbana, tributary streams, which almost surrounded the city Scodra, and greatly added to its means of defence. Had Gentius, who occupied this post with the main strength of his nation, remained patiently within his walls, he might have long defied the arms of Anicius, who prepared to besiege him. But the frantic Barbarian, whose natural ferocity was often aggravated by hard drinking into madness⁵⁵, presumptuously opened his gates, and marched forth to oppose the Romans on equal ground. He was totally defeated: his capital surrendered; and Gentius, to save a life which he had forfeited by violating the laws of nations, threw himself with tears and prayers at the pretor's feet. Anicius raised him from the ground, and even admitted him to his table; but next day consigned him as prisoner to the tribune Caius Cassius: a strange example of royalty precipitated into the lowest misery for a bribe of ten talents, then the ordinary hire of a Roman prizefighter⁵⁶.

The first care of the pretor was to recover the persons of the ambassadors Perperna and Petillius. Having restored them to the splendour becoming their public characters, Anicius soon afterwards employed their services for getting into his hands the friends and family of Gentius. His queen Etuta, a princess of Dardania, with his sons Scerdiletes and Pleuratus, and his brother Caravantius, were seized in

⁵⁴ Or Scordus. ⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxix. c. 5. ⁵⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 31.

different lurking places, and conducted to the Roman camp. Shortly afterwards they were embarked for Rome, together with king Gentius, and most of the principal men among the Illyrians. Perperna preceded them, to acquaint the senate with the happy issue of a war, which, before the Romans were apprised of its commencement, had ended in one month, with the taking of the enemy's capital and the reduction of his whole country⁵⁷.

The success in Illyricum prepared the way for still more important events. Perseus having greatly strengthened his works on the Enipeus, posted his light infantry and horse along the seacoast, that wherever the galleys under the pretor Octavius should make descents, they might be resisted with vigour and celerity. Emilius, upon his arrival with reinforcements, drew nearer to the southern bank of the Enipeus and to the enemy. The bed of the river was broad, rocky, and interrupted: its banks were intricate and lofty; but, with the return of summer, its waters had become so low, that the flowing in of the sea rendered them brackish and unwholesome. This inconvenience had been felt before Emilius took the command, and much search had been made for fresh water in the neighbourhood. As none had been found, the consul ordered wells to be dug near the sea shore, not doubting that the lofty mountains which he beheld before him, since they did not pour down any visible streams, discharged their superfluous moisture into the sea by concealed subterranean outlets. His expectation was gratified by the discovery of copious sources of pure water⁵⁸.

Meanwhile the news of Gentius' defeat and captivity tended to discourage the Macedonians; but upon viewing their camp, Emilius deemed it impregnable, so strong was its position, and so skilfully was it defended by a series of towers, discharging all sorts of weapons. During the time necessary in adjusting his plan of campaign, the soldiers were

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Emilius
supplies
the army
with good
wells.

Salutary
changes in-
troduced
by him.

⁵⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 32.

⁵⁸ Ibid. c. 33.

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kept in motion and spirits by alterations of which they could discern the use, and which, had they been less important in themselves, would have served to create a belief that, with changes in other points, their fortune also was to change under a new general. With this view, the word of command was not to be issued as usual with an overstrained inarticulate voice to the whole line, but to be given deliberately and distinctly to the nearest centurions, and by them communicated clearly from one extremity to another: an improvement which seemed the more necessary in an army of relaxed discipline, noisy and impetuous. The sentinels were not allowed, as formerly, to carry with them their shields; their business was not to fight, but to watch; and when they perceived danger, to give alarm seasonably. The advanced guards were also regulated in a new and more convenient manner. Without distinction of climate or season, they had hitherto been compelled to remain all day long with their horses bridled, and incumbered with heavy armour; by which means, they had sometimes, when fatigued, been defeated by enemies of little prowess. Emilius ordered them in future to be relieved regularly at midday. As there were still murmurs, fomented by pride and conceit, especially among those who had served in the expeditions into Asia, the consul thus addressed them in his only military oration to the multitude, "In an army," he said, "it was the business of a general, and his only, to determine on the measures to be adopted, either within his own breast, or by the advice of such persons as he thought fit to consult with: none besides had any right, either openly or secretly, to obtrude their opinions. A soldier's duty before action consisted wholly in three points; in exercising his body in such a manner as would give him the utmost strength and agility; in having his armour in the best order; and in providing a store of fit food, ready to supply him during any service on which he might be sent. That he must confide in the gods and

the general for taking care of all the rest. From deliberating soldiers nothing but general confusion was to be expected⁵⁹.”

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Shortly afterwards the consul learned from some Thessalian merchants in whom he could confide, that the passage above mentioned by Pythium, which led to the rear of the enemy's camp, was by no means impracticable, and less strongly guarded than its importance required. The Macedonians posted for its defence excelled indeed in the use of missile weapons; but these could be of little avail against the Roman sword, should the attack be made in the night. To mask his design, he ordered part of the fleet to assemble at Heracleum, with provisions for a thousand soldiers for ten days. He then detached from the army five thousand chosen men under his eldest son Fabius, and the young Scipio Nasica, afterwards so illustrious in the senate. They proceeded to Heracleum with the show of embarking there, in order to make descents on the Macedonian coast; but having supplied themselves from the ships with food, they immediately left the sea shore, and took the road towards Pythium, under guidance of the travelling merchants of Thessaly. The march was regulated in such a manner that they arrived at Pythium on the third night, when the attack was made, and proved completely successful; for Perseus, during the three intervening days, had been totally occupied by the consul's feints, and in some bloody skirmishes in the bed of the Enipeus. When he learned that part of the enemy threatened to fall on his rear, while a far greater force lay before him, he hastily resolved to decamp, and move northwards about thirty miles to Pydna⁶⁰. The plain before this place, well adapted to the exertions of the phalanx, seems to have determined him to risk an engagement; a resolution equally foolish and fatal, since the numerous cities, both along the coast and in the inland country, most of which had great means of defence, left him an alternative less dangerous to himself, and less favourable to an invading enemy.

He deceives the enemy and gains the approach to his rear.

Perseus moves to Pydna.

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 34.

⁶⁰ Ibid. c. 25.

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Emilius'
address in
fortifying a
camp be-
fore the
battle of
Pydna.

Emilius, upon intelligence of the king's retreat, hastened across the Enipeus, and being joined by his detachment, which had just descended from the mountains, urged the pursuit with all possible celerity. He found the Macedonians in a posture of defiance, on the plain before Pydna, watered by the rivers Leucas and Æson, which, after uniting their streams within the heart of that city, fall together into the Thermaic gulph, only two miles distant from its walls. The consul might condemn the king's rashness, but he could not despise the formidable aspect of his army. He had come in sight of it before midday; his march had been attended with much fatigue, the heat was already excessive, and every moment growing greater. Under these circumstances, the Romans had not any camp or stronghold, to which, in case of bad fortune, they might retreat for safety. By that martial people the camp was considered as a home; they fought for it with the same zeal as for their hearths and altars: it was their asylum and protection, the source of their comforts and of their hopes, which soothed the soldier's fatigue, poured balm into his wounds, and from which, after repairing the evils of defeat, he often issued anew to glorious victory. Notwithstanding these reasons against an immediate action, the ardour of troops who had surmounted many difficulties to gain the opportunity of fighting, which now offered, was to be restrained with caution. To have resisted it directly, would have been the highest imprudence. The consul, therefore, had recourse to a skilful obliquity, by which he at once deceived his own men for their good, and deluded the Macedonians to their ruin. With the utmost eagerness he arrayed the Romans for battle; rode round their ranks; urged the military tribunes to execute completely and correctly the orders which they had received; and addressed in fit speeches the different divisions of the army. At first they felt much alacrity to encounter the enemy, and expressed it by firm acclamations; but as the day advanced, and the heat became intolerable, their voices lost strength and spirit, their

countenances fell, and their weary bodies began to repose for support on their shields and spears⁶⁰. Upon perceiving this alteration, Emilius commanded his rear division to begin the work of entrenchment, while his first line remained under arms, ready, as it seemed, to attack the enemy. But having formed a breastwork of considerable strength, he drew his whole army behind it, and under protection of the cover which he had thus artfully raised, completed the fortification of his camp in the usual form. The stratagem pleased his soldiers, who, amidst their langour of mind as well as body, were glad that a part of them, by using the spade, should exempt the whole, in its present dispirited state, from the necessity of having recourse to the sword. As Emilius kept his design till ripe for execution, within his own breast, neither Attalus his faithful ally, nor any of his Roman lieutenants, had the opportunity of interposing with their advice. They had all warmly approved his professed intention of fighting; but when they perceived the consul's purpose to be altered, no one ventured to remonstrate, except Scipio Nasica, whose eagerness for battle was heightened by the recent and signal success of his detachment. To his instances on this subject, Emilius replied, "such sentiments were mine, when I was young as you are; when you attain my age, you will think as I do." Perseus, meanwhile, encamped, vainly elated with his confessed superiority; since the Romans, when a battle was in their power, had evidently declined it.

But whatever encouragement might thereby result to his men, was done away in the succeeding night. Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, had, by permission of the consul addressed the army, and predicted that, in the first watch of the night, the moon would be eclipsed for nearly two hours. He clearly explained the nature and causes of that phenomenon, and assured the soldiers that they ought not to derive from it any unfavourable prognostic. It can scarcely

Eclipse of
the moon
predicted
by Sulpici-
us Gallus.

⁶⁰ The pila.

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be doubted, that the Macedonian camp contained men as well informed as Gallus concerning the heavenly motions. But it also contained many Barbarous allies; above all, ignorant and obstinate Thracians, whose superstitious terrors being thrown into agitation, overflowed and damped the whole army. An unfortunate wound given to Perseus by a vicious horse, could not fail to heighten the dismay.

Battle of
Pydna.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

At daybreak, however, both armies had prepared for action. The heavyarmed Macedonians were flanked by the targeteers, as these were by the cavalry. Though drawn up in a plain, they could not advance to the enemy without traversing much broken ground. They remained therefore on the defensive. But the sun shone bright in the faces of the Romans. Emilius, to avoid fighting under this disadvantage, detained his men by a long speech, in which he explained his reasons for hitherto declining battle, and expatiated on the vast benefits resulting from the delay. The sacrifices, also, were performed with great slowness and solemnity, and the twenty-first victim was slain before the inspection of the entrails predicted a complete victory to the Romans provided they firmly waited the enemy's attack. These, and similar contrivances, for rendering superstition alike auxiliary to prudence and to prowess, had been so long and so successfully employed, that they were not without influence even on those patricians themselves, who had been the authors of the deceit. In the present instance, there was not an opportunity to discern their full force; since the battle was brought on undesignedly by the following accident. A horse escaped from the Roman lines: some Thracians endeavoured to intercept and seize it: a skirmish ensued with the Roman cavalry; and both parties were continually reinforced, until the engagement became general. The first line of the Romans was broken and pursued by the Macedonian phalanx and targeteers, whose bristling spears, as they advanced, filled even Emilius with terror. He is said to have torn his general's robe

in despair⁶¹. But this emotion was transient. Bareheaded, he rode through the ranks, exhorting to a fresh attack. The second division of the Romans, however, must have incurred the same disgrace with the first, had Perseus or his generals done their duty. But, instead of pursuing the fugitives with his cavalry and light troops, and removing impediments in the way of his phalanx, he allowed this body of heavy infantry to advance into the uneven ground, and thus to fluctuate and break in pieces through the unequal exertion of its parts, or the inequality of the various obstacles which it encountered. Emilius seized the decisive moment for throwing into the intervals the maniples of his legions. The Macedonians were thus attacked in flank; their long spears became useless: they had to contend with the Roman sword, better tempered than their own, more ponderous and sharper, and by its form as well as size, of far more decisive effect and more bloody execution. In the space of an hour, the battle became a rout, in which twenty thousand Macedonians fell, and eleven thousand were made prisoners⁶²; a disaster the severest, in its consequences, that, in the course of so many wars, had yet befallen the patrimonial kingdom of the great Alexander.

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Misconduct and
defeat of
Perseus.

After the loss of his army, Perseus could not expect to find any resource in the bravery and loyalty of his people, to whom his tyranny had been the more intolerable because exercised under a government constitutionally free⁶³. The Macedonians were in haste to make submission to the conquerors. The various strongholds of the kingdom opened their gates without requiring the formality of a summons. The ancient Egæ or Edessa; the stronger modern metropolis Pella; Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Pelagonia, respectively the capitals of great provinces; all these, with many inferior cities, invited the Romans within their walls; and so vigilant was the discipline of Emilius⁶⁴! they found no reason to repent their

Submission
of Macedon
to Emilius.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

⁶¹ Plutarch in Emil.

⁶² Id. *ibid.* and Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 42.

⁶³ See above, vol. i. p. 28.

⁶⁴ Paulus per omnes deditas civitates dimissis, qui præessent, ne qua injuria in nova pace victis fieret. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 46.

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confidence. In the course of a few days, the consul was master of the whole country, stretching two hundred miles from Thrace to Epirus, and of nearly an equal extent between Dardania and Thessaly; and thus forming the compact materials of a kingdom industrious, opulent and warlike, deriving highly popular fame from an antiquity of seven centuries, under a succession of thirty kings, yet entitled to juster renown from the single reign of Philip, father of Alexander: for the glory of Alexander himself spurns the narrow limits of Macedon.

Proceed-
ings of Per-
seus after
his escape
from the
field of bat-
tle.

The success of Emilius, equally complete and rapid, occasioned much sensation among all the kingdoms and republics belonging to the Grecian name; but to avoid interruption in explaining this complex subject, we shall previously relate the proceedings of vanquished Perseus, after his escape from the field of battle. Accompanied by his horseguards and courtiers, he, at first, purposed to pursue the military road to Pella; but, in his way thither, his flight was interrupted by crowds of disbanded Macedonians, who, frantic with rage and disappointment, upbraided the king and his companions as the authors of their discomfiture and disgrace. To avoid a dangerous conflict with his own exasperated soldiers, Perseus struck into the Pierian forest, and followed its woody windings with an escort which continually diminished on the way. By this circuitous route, he arrived at Pella about midnight. His first care was to visit his treasury; Enetus, who had the charge of it, interposing some unseasonable remonstrances, was silenced by a poniard. Above 2,000 talents were got ready for transportation: the royal children, inhabiting the palace of Pella, two sons named respectively Philip and Alexander, and a nameless daughter, were ordered, also, to accompany their father's flight. Before daybreak, the king left Pella that he might cross the Axios, and oppose that river, difficult of passage, to the pursuit of the enemy. Such was his despatch that, on the second day after the battle, he arrived with his family and precious effects at Amphipolis, above a hundred miles distant from

Transac-
tions at
Pella.

At Amphi-
polis,

Pydna. But the news of his defeat had preceded him. He was not attended by any of his ministers or generals, or even by a single Macedonian soldier. Only five hundred mercenary Cretans adhered, not indeed to the person of Perseus, but to his treasures, which the loyal compassion of his subjects had allowed him to carry in his train. Of all those denominated the king's friends, there remained with him only Evander the Cretan, Neon the Bœotian, and Archidamus the Etolian; men who had been accomplices in his crimes, and were partakers in all his guilty secrets. At Amphipolis, he purposed to address the multitude, holding his elder son Philip by the hand: but his voice was soon stifled by his tears. Evander then standing up to speak for his master, was rejected by a loud outcry; "Begone quickly from hence, lest you should cause destruction to the few Macedonians who are left." Thus reprobated by every portion of his subjects, Perseus, however, was allowed to embark on the Strymon with his children, his treasures, the Cretans, and the royal pages⁶⁵, and to sail to the isle of Samothrace, about fourscore miles distant⁶⁶.

In his happier days, this island had acknowledged his protection, though governed internally by its own magistrates, a priestly colony from the commercial city Pessinus, in Lesser Asia⁶⁷. Ever anxious to extend their traffic, the citizens of Pessinus had occupied, as a convenient staple, the central isle of Samothrace, adorned it with a spacious temple, and introduced into it the fantastic rites of the Pessinuntian goddess, which had procured for the place equal security and celebrity⁶⁸. Into this inviolable sanctuary Perseus found admittance before a Roman detachment came in quest of him to Amphipolis. Soon afterwards, the pretor Octavius sailed with the same purpose to Samothrace. To draw the king from the temple, a remonstrance was sent to its governors, against protecting within their sacred asylum, men stained

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⁶⁵ See above, vol. i. p. 209.

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 45.

⁶⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 87, et seq.

⁶⁸ Strabo, l. x. conf. Plutarch in Pompeio.

In Samothrace.
Olymp. cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

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with the guilt of blood. This observation was levelled at Evander, whom the Romans regarded as a notorious assassin; but, should Evander be convicted on trial, Perseus, of whom he had been the guilty instrument, had reason to fear for himself. The king, under this apprehension, endeavoured to persuade Evander to avoid a disgraceful execution by a voluntary death. Evander, having demurred to this proposal, was taken off secretly; which cruelty towards a man long devoted to him, totally alienated from Perseus the remaining companions of his flight. Many of them went over to the Romans, and the king, in danger of being deserted by all around him, formed the resolution of attempting his escape ⁶⁹.

His fruit-
less at-
tempt to
escape
from
thence.

There was in Samothrace a certain Oroandes, a Cretan merchant, well acquainted with the coasts of Thrace, to which he had long traded. With him, Perseus bargained for a conveyance to his ally Cotys, the independent and honest chieftain of the Odrysians; who cordially hated the Romans, because the Romans were hostile to the liberties of his country. The vessel of Oroandes stood in the harbour Demetrium, at no great distance from the temple. It was concerted that Perseus should send thither in the night time as much of his treasure as could conveniently be removed; and then, following in person, proceed secretly to the vessel that he would find waiting for him. On the part of the king all was duly performed; but, before he came to Demetrium, the false Cretan had already put to sea with his embarked gold. Upon this dreadful disappointment, Perseus, with only three persons privy to his plan of flight, wandered about disconsolate and speechless on the shore, till the approaching morn admonished him of his danger in being discovered without the precincts of the sanctuary. The king returned thither, and was found sculking at daybreak in an obscure corner of the temple. On the same day, Octavius caused proclamation by heralds, of liberty and safety to all persons within the sacred inclosure, who should volun-

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 5, 6.

tarily surrender, with perfect security as to their property, whether carried with them to Samothrace, or left behind them in Macedon. The summons was obeyed universally, even by the royal pages, and Ion of Thessalonica, who held in his custody the king's younger children⁷⁰. CHAP.
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Perseus being thus deserted by all, but his son Philip, saw the necessity of submitting to the conqueror. He was embarked, together with his family and remaining treasures, aboard the admiral galley, and carried by Octavius to Amphipolis, from which city he was sent forward to Siræ beyond the Strymon, where the consul had by this time fixed his camp. In the following year he adorned Emilius' triumph, over which, though his own worthlessness repelled sympathy, the misfortunes of his two accompanying sons cast a melancholy gloom. After exhibiting this sad spectacle of fallen greatness, he lived four years in confinement at Alba. Only his younger son Alexander survived him; a youth who, in the solid enjoyment derived from ingenious though humble arts, learned to deride the fallacious follies of ambition. His productions, as a turner and carver, were much praised; and, after he had learned the Latin tongue, the elegance of his penmanship made his services, in the capacity of scribe, particularly acceptable to the magistrates. Thus ended, in the lowly occupation of an official clerk, the royal dynasty of Macedon, which, in its succession of thirty kings, boasted the deepest politicians and mightiest conquerors⁷¹. Is sent with
his family
to Rome.

Their
wretched
fate.

Thirteen days after the battle of Pydna, the Romans received from Emilius an account of his victory: and that general, without waiting for the orders of his country, declared the Macedonians a free nation; meaning thereby, that they were rescued from the dominion of kings. The blame of the war was thrown wholly on Perseus; "the Romans had taken arms, not only to revenge their own wrongs, but to Emilius'
proceed-
ings in Ma-
cedon.

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. *ibid.* et Plutarch in Emil.

⁷¹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 16. Conf. Plutarch in Emil.

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His progress through Greece and honours paid to him.

deliver from oppression a long injured people. Half the revenues, which the Macedonians had paid to their tyrant, would satisfy their Roman protectors." By such declarations, Emilius confirmed the good will of the vanquished; and the whole kingdom discovered such proofs of grateful submission, that its affairs might be safely intrusted to the care of his lieutenants. Until commissioners should come from the senate and enable him to settle definitively the affairs of his invaluable conquest, Emilius, therefore, employed part of the autumn in a journey through Greece, accompanied by his younger son Scipio, and by Athenæus, brother to Eumenes. For this undertaking, curiosity was the fair pretext; a curiosity, to visit scenes adorned by the arts, and ennobled by great achievements. But policy was, doubtless, the consul's predominant motive: the partisans of Rome were to be supported and honoured; the champions of Grecian independence were to be humbled and abashed⁷². In every city, which he entered, Emilius met with a reception suitable to his late brilliant success. The Delphians had formerly voted a statue to Perseus, whose superstition sometimes assumed the guise of liberality. A column to support the figure had been erected; but the honour intended for the vanquished king, was with propriety transferred to his conqueror⁷³.

War in Epirus—bold resistance of Passaro. Olymp. ciii. 2.
B. C. 167.

During this peaceful progress through Greece, which every where appeared in a state of the most perfect tranquillity, a war still raged on the frontier of that country. Conformably to the plan of operations concerted at the commencement of the campaign, while Emilius and Octavius invaded the eastern provinces of Macedon, the pretor Anicius had been employed against its allies in western Illyricum and Epirus. After the defeat and captivity of Gentius, Anicius moved from Scodra the capital of that unfortunate prince, and conducted his victorious legions into Epirus. Many strongholds surrendered to him on the first summons: others opened their gates after a feeble resistance: but he was defied insult-

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 27.

⁷³ Id. *ibid.*

ingly at Passaro, a strong inland city, which had been the capital of the kingdom, before Pyrrhus transferred his palace to Ambracia on the seacoast. The firmness of Passaro might originate in the remembrance, that it had long been the seat of a free government, where the king and nation of the Epirots annually plighted their faith to each other; the king to govern constitutionally and justly, and the people to uphold his authority, while it was exerted according to law⁷⁴. But the proud obstinacy of this city was unseasonably prolonged by the artifices of its magistrates, the most conspicuous abettors of Perseus, and the principal authors of the revolt of Epirus from Rome. Passaro was on the point of falling a victim to their selfish purpose of defending, at every risk, their own obnoxious persons, when Theodotus, a young Epirot, changed the public resolution, by exclaiming, that he had known many willing to die for their country, but had never seen any man, except Antinous, (the chief magistrate of Passaro,) that wished his country to die for him. While the place prepared to capitulate, this Antinous with his adherents broke into the nearest Roman station, and died with arms in their hands, instead of awaiting the executioner⁷⁵.

Anicius, having received the submission of Passaro, distributed his troops into winter quarters, and returned northwards to Scodra to meet five Roman commissioners who had come thither to settle the affairs of Illyricum, at the same time that ten others sailed to Macedon to adjust with Emilius the measures necessary to be adopted with regard to that kingdom. The latter commission, headed by three men of consular dignity, arrived at Apollonia in the Chalcidicè, a harbour at the foot of mount Athos, and near the more ancient city Acroathos, whose inhabitants were celebrated for a longevity beyond double the ordinary term of human life⁷⁶. In his way to Apollonia, Emilius, whose journey had been

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Its motives.

Emilius
met by 500
Etolian fugitives.

⁷⁴ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

⁷⁶ Pomponius Mela, l. ii. in Thracia.

⁷⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 26.

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hitherto uninterrupted, was met at Demetrias by a miserable crowd of Etolians, amounting to about five hundred, who complained to him of being driven in beggary from their country. During Anicius' war in Epirus, a party of Roman soldiers had entered the neighbouring district of Etolia, and interfered with a vengeful hand in the factions of that turbulent commonwealth. Their commander Bæbius, being instigated by Etolians in the Roman interest, had lent his assistance in a cruel persecution of their opponents: many of these were put to death, and the five hundred supplicants to Emilius had escaped relentless vengeance by a precipitate flight from their families and possessions. Emilius commanded them to attend him at Amphipolis, in which city he purposed to fix his head quarters until the final settlement of Macedon. With this view he sailed from Demetrias to Apollonia, and being there joined by the commissioners, proceeded forward with them to Amphipolis, an ordinary day's journey⁷⁸.

Final settlement of Macedon and Illyricum.
Olymp. ciii. 2.
B. C. 167.

According to orders previously issued through all parts of Macedon, the deputies from every city and district had assembled at Amphipolis, that they might learn the doom of their country. On a day appointed, these deputies were conducted before Emilius, now proconsul, seated on a lofty tribunal in the midst of a spacious court, and surrounded on either hand by commissioners from the senate. The crowd of heralds and lictors, and other officers with new names or unusual badges, above all, the aspect of the Roman magistrate, imposed a degree of awe which the Macedonians had never experienced in the presence of kings. Emilius, in the Latin language, declared the will of the senate. Octavius, the Roman admiral, translated his words into Greek: "According to the promises formerly made to the Macedonians, the nation," he said, "was to enjoy its own laws, to be tried by its own judges, and to pay only one half of the taxes raised under its regal government. But in addition to these flattering circum-

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

stances, the kingdom was in future to be divided into four distinct states, each with its separate jurisdiction and its separate capital. Pella and Thessalonica were to be the capitals of the two rich central provinces separated by the river Axios. In the east Amphipolis, the scene of the present council, was to preside over the territory contiguous to Thrace; and Pelagonia was to hold the same rank in the west, over the country bordering on Illyricum. In these four great cities, all public councils were to be held, all magistrates to be elected, and all pecuniary contributions to be deposited. The four jurisdictions dependent on them were to avoid all connexion with each other, not only in matters of government, but even in treaties of marriage and commercial intercourse. No troops were to be kept on foot in Macedon, except on the frontiers peculiarly exposed to Barbarians: the mines of gold and silver were not to be wrought; and the timber fit for ship building was not to be cut down, either for sale abroad or for use at home." Such were the arrangements which the proconsul Emilius made in Macedon; and such was the plan of government which the pretor Anicius had already established in Illyricum, except that the latter country, as far poorer and less important, was divided into three governments only, and that such districts of it as had early sided with the Romans, obtained a complete exemption from tribute⁷⁹. Hard as the conditions were, no remonstrance to them was made; the armies of both countries had been defeated, and the kings of both were in the hands of their enemies.

After settling in this summary manner the affairs of Macedon, Emilius admitted to a hearing the Etolian exiles. In examining their cause, the main question was, whether they had ever acted as partisans of king Perseus? and, as they could not justify themselves from this imputation, he told them that Rome was not called on to redress their wrongs; that their own banishment and the murder of their friends

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Illiberal
and cruel
conditions
imposed on
them.

Emilius'
harshness
to the Eto-
lian fugi-
tives.

⁷⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 18—26. et seq.

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were matters of which he could not take cognisance; at the same time he severely censured Bæbius, the Roman officer, for lending his aid in the sedition and interfering irregularly in the affairs of Etolia⁸⁰.

Deputies
and accu-
sers in the
camp of
Emilius.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.
B. C. 167.

The attention of surrounding nations was deeply fixed on the proceedings at Amphipolis. Under pretence of congratulations on the victory at Pydna, ambassadors had flocked to Rome from every kingdom, every commonwealth, and almost every city belonging to the Grecian name, either in Europe or in Asia. Nearly as numerous a conflux of deputies attended the camp of the proconsul in Macedon. These men, who had most of them been zealous partisans of Rome, and thereby acquired much influence in their respective countries, embraced the present as the fittest opportunity for confirming unalterably their ascendancy. For this purpose, they denounced by name, to the proconsul, all those of their fellow citizens suspected of abetting the king of Macedon. Some of the persons whom they accused were convicted, indeed, by the evidence of letters found among Perseus' papers, which had come into the possession of the Romans, at the same time that they seized his money and other precious effects. But the far greater number consisted of men alike unfriendly to Macedon and to Rome, and to the treacherous partisans of both these usurping powers. Numerous lists of pretended culprits, containing several thousand names, were thus given to Emilius and his assessors by Mnesippus the Bæotian, Chremes the Acarnanian, Nicias the Epirot, Liciscus and Tisippus Etolians; and the unworthy Achæans Callicrates, Aristodemus, Agesias, and Philip. It deserves remark, that no accusers appeared among the Athenians. This people, long the busiest and most ungovernable of all the Greeks, had early and universally abandoned, not only the cause of Macedon but of Grecian freedom; and, instead of their old turbulent democracy, enjoyed peace without honour, under the indulgent protection of Rome; an indulgence in their case the more conspicuous,

None of
these from
Athens,
and why.

⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.*

in proportion to the stern policy adopted with regard to most of their neighbours. Orders were despatched to the several states implicated in the accusation, to seize all persons named in the lists just given to Emilius, that they might be transported to Rome and there tried for their offences. To this severe mandate, the only exception was in favour of Achaia. The papers of Perseus afforded not the smallest proof of a secret correspondence between that unfortunate prince and any city, or even any individual, belonging to the Achæan league, which then extended over the whole of Peloponnesus. The names, however, of a thousand Achæans appeared in the list of Macedonian partisans; and those names included Polybius, Xeno, Stratius, together with many others who had borne high offices in the state or army; in a word, all persons obnoxious to Callicrates and his unworthy faction. It was suspected by the Romans, that an order to seize men so popular might be disobeyed by a state still powerful. The two principal commissioners, therefore, Caius Claudius and Domitius Enobarbus, immediately repaired to Corinth, and were introduced by Callicrates into the Achæan diet. Without apology or preface, they arraigned a numerous party in Achaia, as having acted in concert with Perseus, and required sentence of death to be passed on such base conspirators. You will first, replied the pretor of the Achæans, name the guilty, and make good your charge against them. I name then rejoined the Roman commissioner, all who have of late years commanded in your armies or presided in your councils. They are all traitors to Rome and to their country. Xeno, who had recently been general, then replied unguardedly in the consciousness of innocence, "In that case even I shall be held criminal, though at all times ready to defend my cause and confound my accusers, either here in Achaia, or even in Rome itself." The commissioners laid hold of these last words: "You say right; let the whole cause be referred to the senate:" accordingly they produced the list with which Callicrates had furnished them; gave orders that

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seizing the
accused
Greeks and
transport-
ing them
for trial to
Rome.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.A thousand
principal
Achæans in
the num-
ber.

CHAP. XXII. the persons named in it should be transported to Italy; and such was the power usurped from this moment by the Roman faction in Achaia, that these orders were carried strictly into execution⁸¹.

Treatment
of Antissa
in Lesbos.

This proceeding towards Achaia was accompanied in other parts with severities, as tamely tolerated as they were tyrannically inflicted. During the Macedonian war, Antissa in the isle of Lesbos had received and victualled some vessels belonging to Perseus. To punish this delinquency, La-beo, a Roman commissioner, sailing from Amphipolis to Lesbos, commanded the instant demolition of the harbour and city of Antissa. Its wretched inhabitants, deprived of their homes and of all means of subsistence, solicited the compassion of their neighbours of Methymna, and found safety in that place, which had not offended the Romans⁸².

Cruel in-
quisition in
Rhodes.

After the defeat and captivity of Perseus, Popilius Lænas and Caius Decimius, who had sailed from Italy in the double capacity of admirals and ambassadors, finding their exertions in the former character no longer necessary at Delos, left that island to proceed on their destined course to Egypt with a commission, whose nature and result will presently be explained. In coasting along Asia, they came to Lorima, a Carian city, twenty miles distant from the isle of Rhodes, and situate in direct view of its capital. Thither some Rhodians in authority came to meet them, and requested that, before prosecuting their intended voyage, they would first land at Rhodes and examine with their own eyes the disposition and temper of a commonwealth, whose faults had been greatly exaggerated. After much solicitation, the ambassadors complied; were conducted to the magistrates, and by them introduced into the assembly of the people. Instead of waiting to hear the apologies ready to be offered, Popilius expatiated on the offences that had been given; repeated and exaggerated every

⁸¹ Pausanias Achaic. p. 416. Tit. c. 10.
Liv. l. xlv. c. 30 et Polyb. l. xxx. ⁸² Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 31.

report to the disadvantage of the Rhodians; and being naturally a man of great asperity, heightened the bitterness of his sentiments by an angry voice and a threatening countenance. His colleague Decimius assumed a tone altogether different. He charged the faults, of which the Rhodians now repented and were ashamed, on the treachery of a few corrupt counsellors. The people at large, he doubted not, were innocent; and would be ready now that it was in their power to punish the guilty. The assembly testified approbation, not only at his vindication of the public, but at the blame thrown on individuals; and when the Rhodian magistrates rose up to reply, those who repelled the charges of Popilius were heard with less satisfaction than others who reechoed the sentiments of his colleague. Accordingly, a decree passed, that all Rhodians who had cooperated with Perseus, either in word or deed, should be punished capitally. The ambassadors remained only five days at Rhodes; but the criminal prosecutions, begun before their departure, continued to hold to the end the same bloody course. The accused either suffered a legal execution or laid violent hands on themselves: and none escaped death but a few individuals, more obnoxious than the rest, who had fled into banishment upon the arrival of Roman commissioners in their island⁸³.

This dreadful expiation might have satisfied the resentment, and even the pride, of Rome. Yet shortly afterwards, when Rhodian ambassadors appeared in that capital, they were denied the courteous hospitality which the Romans were accustomed to exercise towards strangers in a public character. They had at first appeared in white robes, to testify their joy for the defeat and ruin of Perseus, but they were allowed to remain in the midst of the marketplace, until they procured quarters in a mean inn, from which they issued next day in sordid garbs, and beset with supplications the dwellings of the senators. When a public hearing was at

Humiliat-
ing speech
of the Rho-
dians in the
senate.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.
B. C. 167.

⁸³ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 10.

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Their in-
terests es-
poused by
Cato the
Censor.

length granted to them, they entered the senatehouse with olive branches in their hands, and with streaming eyes, prostrated their bodies on the ground. Astymedes, the head of the embassy, then rising slowly, and endeavouring to collect his thoughts and summon his resolution, reminded his judges of the happier days of Rhodes, when a strenuous ally to Rome in the memorable wars against Philip and Antiochus. On those important occasions, the whole resources of his republic, and of every individual composing it, had been unceasingly exerted in the Roman service. "If, during the dependency of the late war with Perseus, there was any demerit on the part of the Rhodians, it was at least of a negative kind: no substantial aid had been afforded to the king of Macedon; and the provoking embassies sent from Rhodes in his favour, were to be ascribed solely to the rashness and madness of a few turbulent individuals, who had suffered death by the sentence of their country, or perished by their own hands." In examining the question peace or war with Rhodes, the senators were divided. The Romans, most adverse to that people, were those who had been employed in arms or embassies in the course of the four years war with Perseus. Another party espoused their defence, headed by Cato the Censor, then in his 66th year, but in the highest bloom of his faculties and his eloquence. With that commanding attitude, which he assumed in every debate, he converted the accusations against the Rhodians into their highest panegyric. "They had opposed the views of Rome, only because Rome forsook and deserted those ancient maxims which had caused her greatness and constituted her glory. They wished not to save Perseus from ruin for his own sake, but chiefly that they might spare the Romans the evils attending unbounded prosperity and the unbridled license of power. In the zeal of patriotism, and the natural loftiness which it inspires, the Rhodians had interposed in favour of a Greek king in a tone of command unwarranted, indeed, by their real strength. But those offensive embassies, if considered more deeply,

were to be deemed of the same nature with painful but salutary remedies. They were admonitions of a wise and friendly state, like those of one true friend to another, calculated for restraining guilty passions, and thereby preventing the dishonour and ruin that must inevitably follow their gratification⁸⁴." The interposition of Cato averted from Rhodes the fate of Antissa. Pardon was granted to the island; but the same decree confirmed the emancipation of its dependencies in Caria and Lycia. Polycrates, with part of the ambassadors, carried this intelligence to Rhodes; Astymedes, with the remainder, continued at Rome to watch occurrences, and to derive every possible advantage from them. The decree of the senate was received by the Rhodian magistrates with well affected gratitude; and a crown of gold, weighing 20,000 aurei⁸⁵, was sent as a peace offering to Rome.

Popilius and Decimius, having for ever humbled an island illustrious in arts from immemorial antiquity, and which had upheld renown in arms for the space of an hundred and fifty years, prosecuted their voyage to Egypt, on a mission of which it is now necessary to explain the object. Antiochus Epiphanes, after mounting the throne of Syria in the manner above related, to the prejudice of Demetrius, the son of his elder brother, set himself to amass money by contrivances unusual and impious; and productive, as will be seen in the sequel, of very extraordinary consequences. His treasures enabled him greatly to reinforce his Syrian army by bodies of more hardy mercenaries; and he was eager to employ it wherever the richest and easiest conquests might be made. Egypt was the old and natural rival of Syria, and had degenerated still more in point of valour, than it had declined in arts and opulence. But, in the minority of Ptolemy Philometer, Egypt was governed by his mother Cleopatra, sister to Antiochus; a prudent and virtuous princess, who maintained good government at home, and was careful to preserve

Affairs of
Syria and
Egypt.
Olymp.
clii. 1.
B. C. 172.

⁸⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 22, et seq. shillings in value

⁸⁵ Each aureus was then sixteen

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peace abroad. Cleopatra, however, survived her brother's accession to the throne of Syria only three years; and Antiochus, by means of ambassadors sent to Alexandria to grace the coronation of her son, discovered that the ministers of the young prince purposed to renew their master's claim to the provinces of Cœle Syria and Palæstine.

War between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometer.
Olymp. cli. 2.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 171—168.

Antiochus needed no stronger inducement to commence his meditated war against Egypt. He four times invaded that kingdom in the four successive years that the Romans carried on operations against Macedon⁸⁵. His first campaign was distinguished by an important victory at Pelusium. In his second expedition he not only completely defeated Philometer, but made captive his person, treating him, however, with much kindness, and sparing the blood of his subjects. In this manner he gained an ascendancy over the whole country, except one city. But this city was the strong and wealthy Alexandria, containing more purity of Grecian blood, and more military resources, than were now to be found in all the rest of the kingdom collectively. The Alexandrians chose for their king the younger brother of Philometer, and honoured him with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, though he is usually distinguished in history by his nickname Physcon, acquired, when he grew older, from his excessive corpulency, the effect, as was believed of his brutish intemperance⁸⁶. Antiochus in a third expedition laid siege to Alexandria, which baffled all his efforts, while Physcon, in conjunction with his sister Cleopatra, sent an embassy to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced through the ambition of an encroaching neighbour their own unnatural uncle, and their not less unworthy brother who had submitted to become his vassal. Domestic events, which will afterwards be related, withdrew Antiochus from the siege of Alexandria. He left Philometer in Memphis, as titular sovereign of Egypt, but was careful to garrison Pelusium. Upon his departure, the two brothers,

⁸⁵ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 579—624. 2 Maccab. c. v.

⁸⁶ Diodor. ibid.

through the intervention chiefly of Rhodian ambassadors, entered into a friendly correspondence, and peace was the more earnestly desired on the part of Physcon, because the Alexandrians greatly depended for subsistence on provisions conveyed by the Nile; and on the part of Philometer, because the city held by his brother was the only place strong enough to resist Antiochus, should he a fourth time invade the country⁸⁷. This event took place, and Antiochus had advanced to Eleusis, within four miles of Alexandria, when his progress was arrested by the Roman ambassador Popilius Lænas, and his colleagues Decimius and Hostilius. At sight of Popilius, whom he had well known during his residence of thirteen years at Rome, Antiochus testified much joy, and extended both arms to embrace him. But the Roman rejected his salutation, and, sternly unfolding the written orders which he had received from the senate, presented them to the king, and commanded him to give them an immediate perusal. Antiochus ran over the tablets, and declared that he would deliberate on their contents with his friends. But the Roman, who as we have already seen, was a man qualified to execute the haughtiest instructions in the haughtiest manner, stretched forth his rod, and tracing with it a line in the sand, round the king's person, said, "You must answer the senate before you stir from this circle." Antiochus knew the character of the Romans and of their ambassador; his nephew Demetrius, the rightful king of Syria, was in their hands; they had formerly gained decisive victories in Asia and their recent conquests of Macedon would facilitate a new invasion of that continent. He therefore rejoined, with a faltering accent, "I will obey the senate." Popilius then embraced him as his ancient friend⁸⁸. By means of the same embassy peace was concluded between the two Egyptian brothers, on condition that they should reign conjointly: Antiochus withdrew

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Antiochus' progress to Alexandria arrested by Popilius Lænas. Olymp. cliii. 1. B. C. 168.

Philometer and Physcon reign conjointly.

⁸⁷ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 16. l. xxix. c. 8. and Justin, l. xxiv.

⁸⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 12.

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his army from Egypt; and the Romans sailed to Cyprus, which had been invaded and conquered by a Syrian fleet; and by the mere interposition of their authority restored the whole island to the dominion of the Ptolemies, its ancient masters⁸⁹.

Transportation to Rome of the Macedonian nobles.

While the pride of the senate thus trampled on Alexander's successors in the east, its tyranny, mixed with cruelty, was exercised in a manner unexampled over not only the kingdom of Perseus, but over Greece, Illyricum, Epirus; in one word, over all the ancient Macedonian dependencies in the west. From just hatred to Perseus, the new settlement of Macedon had been accepted without murmur: in order formally to ratify it, deputies from the several cities and districts had assembled at Amphipolis. In this convention Emilius told the Macedonians, that the institutions which he had given them, just and liberal as they were, and highly calculated to promote the real happiness of the public, could not, however, be lasting, unless the country were disburdened of men altogether incapable themselves of relishing such fair arrangements, and who would therefore spare no pains to render them unpalatable to others. That men, accustomed to pompous courts and arbitrary kings, had neither tempers nor understandings suited to the generous maxims of equal freedom. He therefore enjoined the Macedonians, and persuaded them that the injunction was essential to their best interests, to banish the friends and servants of Perseus; persons who distinguished themselves from the multitude of their fellow citizens, not more clearly by their purple vestments, than by the proud complexion of their minds: trained in habits of commanding haughtily, and obeying servilely; some of them immoderately rich; and others poor through profligacy, yet surpassing the former in expense; and both classes totally unfit for living under a free republic. All such persons, accordingly, including not only governors and generals, but every inferior officer serving by sea and land, and even all those who

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. *ibid.*

had at any time been intrusted by the court with the most CHAP. XXII. inconsiderable office at home, or the slightest legation abroad, together with their male children above the age of fifteen years, were commanded, under pain of death, to embark on board transports ready to convey them to Italy⁹⁰; and what is most extraordinary in the whole transaction, this rigid decree was tamely complied with.

After thus separating from the mass of the community, Festival at Amphipolis. Olymp. cliii. 2. B. C. 167. materials which he had declared unfit for cordially combining with it, Emilius proclaimed a solemn festival at Amphipolis,

f which he had long entertained the design, and concerning which he had already given intimation, not only to the several cities on his way through Greece, but likewise to all the Greek confederates in Asia. Never did the Olympic games, of which those at Amphipolis were an imitation, attract such splendid troops of spectators or actors: and amidst this immense concourse of strangers, such was the plenty of the country, provisions of every kind remained at the lowest price. In the banquets given by Emilius, the disposition was not less admirable than the sumptuousness; and, to the compliments paid him on that score, he replied, that the man who was not fit to regulate an entertainment, could not be well qualified to array an army. The peculiar distinction of the show consisted in an exhibition of the invaluable spoils of Perseus and his palaces; which treasures, with a sum estimated at about 2,000,000*l.* sterling, in money, was embarked under the care of Octavius, to be conveyed to the treasury of Rome.

Having finished his transactions at Amphipolis, the pro- Plunder of Illyricum. consul, at the head of his army, marched in five days to Pel-la. He encamped two days in the neighbourhood of that city, but immediately sent forward a detachment under his eldest son Quintus Maximus and Scipio Nasica, to plunder those districts in Illyricum, which had shown most zeal in the cause of Perseus. After performing this service, the detachment was to meet him at Oricum, the Illyrian harbour nearest to

⁹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 32.

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Italy. Meanwhile he proceeded with the main army, westward, and in fifteen marches, reached Passaro, the ancient capital of Epirus.

Desolation
of Epirus.

In that neighbourhood the pretor Anicius still continued to encamp, after reducing, as we have seen, the adjacent country, and garrisoning its principal strongholds. Emilius sent him notice not to be surprised at the events which must soon be transacted around him; "for the senate had granted as a boon to his own army, the spoils of the rebellious Epirots." After this message, a general, extolled by all historians for humanity as well as probity, concerted measures for executing effectually, and with the least danger to himself, commands never exceeded in atrocity by the most barbarous conqueror. A due number of centurions was despatched through the several cities of Epirus, on pretence of freeing them from garrisons, and of summoning ten deputies from each city to Passaro. These deputies were sent home with orders to collect all the gold and silver within their respective departments; and to hold it by a certain day, at the disposal of the Roman general. When the day approached, his several cohorts began to march with such a nice adjustment of time and distance, that they appeared at once, and for one purpose, before all the different cities of Epirus. In the morning, the gold and silver had been deposited; four hours afterwards, the cohorts received signal for a general pillage; their spoil was so considerable, that each horseman's share may be estimated at thirteen pounds, and each foot soldier's at half that sum. One hundred and fifty thousand Epirots were dragged into slavery; the walls of the plundered cities, to the number of seventy, were demolished; a sale followed of the slaves and other booty; and part of the money, arising from it, was divided also among the soldiers ⁹¹.

⁹¹ Livy, as if ashamed of the transaction, hurries through it in four short sentences. His account (l. xlv.c. 34.) is wanting in perspicuity; and the defect is not supplied by Plutarch in Emil. p. 271.

The proconsul proceeded immediately afterwards to Ori- cum, where he met the detachment under his son Maximus, enriched by the plunder of Illyricum. Preparations were then made for crossing the Hadriatic; and, as a small body of troops, properly distributed, was sufficient to command countries drained alike of all military resources, and of all men qualified to employ them, the far greater proportion of the Romans sailed for Italy in two embarkations; first, the conquerors of Macedon under Emilius; and next, under Anicius, the conquerors of Illyricum and Epirus. These generals, as well as Octavius commander of the Roman fleet, who had ably cooperated with them, held their respective triumphs. The objects displayed in the procession of Emilius were incomparably the most refined as well as most precious, containing, besides the ordinary exhibitions of crowns of gold, captives, and armour, a profusion of pictures, and statues, and vases; clothes and hangings of the most delicate fabric, curiously constructed couches or triclinia, innumerable carved works in gold, silver, and ivory; in one word, the same splendour that had appeared twenty-two years before, in the triumph over Antiochus the Great; for those Greek kings of the east all affected the same elegancies, and delighted in the same kinds of magnificence. Of all the treasures taken with Perseus, or found in his palaces, Emilius reserved nothing of value for himself or his family; if we except the library of the conquered king, which the general bestowed on his younger son Scipio, who had already, in his eighteenth year discovered that taste for elegant learning which thenceforth honourably distinguished him. The Macedonian

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Wealth accumulated in the war—how employed by the Romans.

⁹² Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 40. Pliny, N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 9. Livy states the amount at sestertium millies ducen- ties; Pliny at bis millies trecenties; Velleius at bis millies centies. The rules of criticism will therefore war- rant the reading of bis millies du- centies, equivalent to 1,806,041/. As much, Livy says, was spent by

Perseus in preparations for the war, or dispersed in his flight; and we may fairly allow an equal sum for distributions to the Roman army, for plunder and peculation. So that the whole amount accumulated in the royal treasury in the course of thirty years since Philip's ruinous war with the Romans may be com- puted at 5,418,128/.

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coin, carried in procession, may be estimated at 2,000,000l. sterling⁹²; the gold seized in Illyricum amounted to a tenth part of that sum; we know not how much of the booty of Epirus, after gratifying private rapacity, was carried into the public treasury. But the whole aggregate wealth brought thither upon this occasion, formed an important era at Rome, since, in consequence of this acquisition, joined with the tribute imposed on Macedon and its dependencies, and the long growing revenues derived from other quarters, the republic reached, as it were, at one bound, such a pitch of opulence, as thenceforward exempted its citizens from all payment of taxes⁹³. This stream of wealth which continued thus copiously to flow into Rome, was liberally expended in works chiefly of public use; temples, fortifications, aqueducts, highways, marketplaces, and bridges; above all, in improving the agriculture of Italy, in its whole extent, from Rhegium to Aquileia. The Romans were so far from hoarding their riches, like most of the powers which they had recently conquered, that their treasury, when examined only ten years after the triumph of Emilius, contained little more than the value of half a million sterling⁹⁴.

⁹³ Cicero de Offic. l. ii. c. 22. The exemption lasted 125 years to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa in the war between Augustus and An-

tony: it continued therefore long beyond the real existence of the republic. Plutarch in Emil.

⁹⁴ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of Greece and Macedon. Agitations in the Eastern Kingdoms. First Impulse given by Antiochus Epiphanes. His penal Statute. View therein. Religious war of the Jews. Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius Soter escapes from Rome, and regains his Birthright in Syria. Dissensions between the Egyptian Brothers Philometer and Physoon. Revolutions in Cappadocia. The Usurper Alexander Balas in Syria. War between Bithynia and Pergamus. Prusias II. of Bithynia dethroned by his son Nicomedes II. War in Syria. Demetrius Nicator. Death and Character of Ptolemy Philometer. Jewish Temple in Heliopolis.

FROM the conquest of Macedon, twenty-two years elapsed to the reduction of that country into the servile condition of a province. Greece, under the name of Achaia, experienced, about the same time¹, a similar degradation. Before the commotions which immediately produced this final catastrophe, the most turbulent kingdom of antiquity remained in a state of lethargic stupor, (such was the shock with which Rome had stunned it), careful only to make regular payments of the tribute to which it had been subjected by the chance of arms. During the same space of time, Greece maintained an aspect not less peaceful, controlled by such of her own citizens as were willing dependents on Rome, or by commissioners sent from the Roman senate occasionally to direct and abet them. Amidst this despondent tameness of the original stock of the nation, the widespreading colonies in Asia and Africa present us with many remarkable events and many extraordinary characters. In boundless deference for the senate, the two greater powers of Syria and Egypt

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State of
Greece and
Macedon.
Olymp.
cliii. 2—
clviii. 3.
B. C. 167—
146.

Agitations
in the
Greek
kingdoms
of the East.

¹ Polybius, l. xl. sub fin. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 11. & Pausanias in Achaia.

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rivalled, indeed, the three secondary ones of Pergamus, Capadocia, and Bithynia; but during the breathingtime required by the Romans after their stubborn warfare in Illyricum and Macedon, these five more eastern kingdoms afford materials for history no less curious than copious, both in the transactions between sovereigns and subjects, and in the proceedings of all these sovereigns with regard to each other.

The first impulse given by Antiochus Epiphanes—his object in profaning temples. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 170.

In the agitation of this complicated and bloody drama, the first impulse was given by Antiochus Epiphanes, who had possessed himself, as we have seen, of his throne, to the prejudice of his nephew Demetrius. To uphold his usurpation, and pay stipulated contributions to the Romans, money, an essential requisite, was to be obtained by any means that seemed most efficacious, how inconsistent soever with justice or the best interests of his people. Accordingly, Epiphanes is the first king of Syria who formed a regular plan² for profaning the sanctity of temples, or what was in effect synonymous, for robbing the banks of deposit, and rifling the great magazines of commerce. By way of preparation for this undertaking, as the property within sacred inclosures was guarded by peculiar veneration for the local deities of each temple, Antiochus determined to bring over his subjects in every part of the empire to the gods of Greece, and to wean them from their ancient usages, by habituating them to conformity with his own mode of worship. With this view, fit emissaries were sent by him to the different provinces, to tamper with powerful individuals, and to gain them as auxiliaries to his enterprise, by the hope of sharing in his gains³. The expedient was successful with every pagan nation on either side the Euphrates; and even of the Jews, a people greatly reduced by foreign enemies, and then torn by domestic factions, “many sold themselves to the king, to do wickedness.”

² Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 4 & c. 11. According to this author, Antiochus' death was occasioned by his flagitious attempt on the temple of

Elymais in Upper Asia, of which we shall speak hereafter.

³ 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 42, 43.

At the head of these apostates stood three brothers, assuming the Greek names of Jason, Menelaus, and Lysimachus; the first of whom supplanted Onias, also his brother, in the office of highpriest of Jerusalem, and was himself supplanted by Menelaus, who began the depredations on the temple⁴. In perpetrating a second act of sacrilege, Lysimachus, the abettor and instrument of Menelaus, was slain in the holy treasury. A combat ensued between two enraged factions, headed by the hostile brothers, Jason and Menelaus, both of them rebels to their religion, and alike odious to a great proportion of their countrymen, its sincere votaries. At this perturbed crisis, Antiochus, in his way from Egypt⁵, entered Jerusalem, decided the contest in favour of Menelaus, and expelled his rival Jason, who died miserably in exile. The king then proceeded to the execution of his rapacious design on the temple. The Jews defended it with desperate valour. Forty thousand of them were slain, and nearly an equal number dragged into captivity⁶. The prize of victory, contained in the public and secret treasury, amounted in value to three millions sterling; for besides precious implements of worship, there was the money of widows, orphans, and other valuable deposits. The capital being thus drained of treasure and drenched in blood, the country was abandoned to the apostate Menelaus, its nominal highpriest, supported by the Syrian generals, Philip and Andronicus, men of relentless cruelty⁷.

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Promoted
by apos-
tates in
Judea—
their rapa-
city and
tyranny.

The Jews had remained two years under this complex Antiochus' tyranny, when Antiochus, upon his disgraceful repulse from Egypt by the overawing sternness of a Roman ambassador⁸, vented the fury of his ill stifled passions against a miserable people, who were without domestic strength, and enjoyed not any foreign protection. On the march homeward, his general Apollonius was detached with twenty thousand men

Antiochus'
penal sta-
tute.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

⁴ 2 Maccabees, c. iv.

⁶ 2 Maccab. c. v. v. 14.

⁵ That is, in returning from his second expedition against Egypt, of which we have spoken above.

⁷ Josephus Orat. de Maccab

⁸ See above, c. xxii.

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to complete the depredations on Jerusalem, without regarding, in the execution of his orders, the demolition of the place, and the extirpation of its inhabitants. The Jews were surprised in their synagogues on the sabbath; all who prepared for resistance were put to the sword; great part of the city was thrown down or burnt; and a fortress being built on a neighbouring hill commanding the temple, was occupied by a Syrian garrison, to prevent access in future to the *holy house*, and thus abolish the morning and evening sacrifices daily offered in it to Jehovah⁹. At the same time, Antiochus, repairing to his capital on the Orontes, from thence issued his penal decree against all who refused compliance with the religious ceremonies of Greece, and appointed persons versed in the ritual of that country, to superintend the punctual execution of the mandate¹⁰.

His adviser
Ptolemy
Macron.

His chief adviser in this matter was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia, Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes. This man had long governed Cyprus for the crown of Egypt; but upon some disgust received from the court of Alexandria, had revolted from Ptolemy VI. Philometer to a more aspiring, and, as it seemed, more generous master; for Antiochus was not less profuse than rapacious, lavishing on unworthy favourites the wealth cruelly extorted from his people¹¹. The merit of defection from a rival prince, and of bringing to Syria the accession of a valuable and long coveted island, was heightened in Ptolemy Macron, by the personal recommendations of industry, dexterity, and unbounded flattery. In all his words and actions he was careful to humour the inclinations of the king; and, though himself in advanced life, rivalled his youthful master in shameless amours and unbridled profligacy¹². He thus became Antiochus' prime favourite, and enjoyed¹³ the lucrative government of Cœle-

⁹ 1 Maccab. c. i. Conf. Joseph. in Prefat. ad Histor. de Bell. Judaic.

¹⁰ 1 Maccab. c. xli. & seq.

¹¹ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 18. l. xxix. c. 9.

¹² Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38. & l. xxvii. c. 12. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 38.

¹³ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 8.

Syria and Phœnicia, though he should seem to have usually resided as minister near the royal person. By a seasonable bribe to this villain, Menelaus, the nominal highpriest of the Jews, is said to have intercepted from Antiochus the complaints of that injured people, and to have procured the death of their deputies¹⁴; and the same Ptolemy Macron afterwards assisted the king in issuing his edict of conformity, and in choosing fit persons, under the name of overseers¹⁵ for rendering it effectual.

These overseers pervaded the provinces, escorted by soldiers, not merely for their own security, but that they might propagate, wherever necessary, their religion by the sword. Their proceedings, equally tyrannical and rapacious, occasioned insurrections in those parts of Upper Asia still subject to the house of Seleucus, but the nations on this side the Euphrates being more within the reach of the controlling Syrian army, generally complied with their injunctions before they assumed the tone of commands¹⁶. Even the Samaritans, who often laid claim to a Hebrew descent, now declared themselves of the race of the Medes; acknowledging, indeed, that their fathers, with a view to prevent certain plagues too usual in their country, had observed the Jewish sabbaths, and built a temple to Jehovah on mount Gerizim; but adding, that they themselves, more enlightened than their ancestors, had determined in all things to obey the will of their sovereign. They begged leave therefore to consecrate Gerizim in future to the Grecian Jupiter, under one of his favourite titles, "The protector of strangers;" a name highly appropriate, they said, to their own circumstances in Palæstine¹⁷. The Samaritans thus craved as a favour that to which the Jews only submitted from fear of the most dreadful punishments. *Their* temple was also consecrated to Jupiter, under his loftier title of *Olympian*; and sacrifices were offered on his altar on the

Reception
of his mis-
sionaries,
or over-
seers, in
the pro-
vinces.

¹⁴ 2 Maccab. c. iv.

rus.

¹⁵ Επιστολὴν. 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 51.

¹⁷ Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. Conf.

¹⁶ Josephus, 1 Maccabees. Diodo- c. 7. & 10.

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Profana-
tion of the
altar of
Jehovah—
horrid cru-
elties in
Jerusalem.
Olymp.
eliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

twenty-fifth day of the winter month Cisleu¹⁸; a date of much importance, as we shall see presently, in Jewish history.

In the attempt to confirm this change of worship in Jerusalem, the emissaries of Antiochus met with such boldness of opposition, as recalled thither the king in person. When other means of conversion failed, the tyrant had recourse to the stake and the rack. But the zeal of the Jews waxed hotter than fire; their faith proved stronger than all the combined powers of mechanical torture. Antiochus commanded and superintended the most horrid executions; witness the martyrdom of the venerable Eleazar in his ninetieth year, and that of the mother with her seven sons; events recorded by national historians as the noblest examples of that fortitude which is to be derived from trust in the Almighty, confirmed by the testimony of a good conscience¹⁹. After the altar of Jehovah had been profaned by the impure idol of a Grecian god²⁰, Antiochus left the remainder of the work to be done by his substitutes, who, in performing the task assigned them, visited various subordinate cities in Judæa, without encountering any memorable opposition, until Apelles, a zealous missionary, came to Modin, situate half way between Jerusalem and the seaport of Joppa.

The Greek
missionary
Apelles
murdered
at Modin—
commence-
ment of the
religious
wars of the
Jews.
Olymp.
eliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

Upon his arrival there, Apelles addressed himself to Mattathias, the principal inhabitant of the place, being a descendent of Joarib, the most honourable branch in the sacerdotal family of Aaron²¹. The great hereditary consideration of Mattathias was sustained by his five sons, all of them youths of great promise; of whom Simon, the second, was not less conspicuous for premature wisdom, than Judas the third

¹⁸ Cisleu, or Casleu, is the 9th month in the Jewish calendar, corresponding to the latter part of November, and the former of December.

¹⁹ 2 Maccab. c. vi. v. 31. & c. vii. Joseph. in Lib. de Maccab. Josephus' Greek eloquence contrasts with the sublime brevity in 1 Mac-

cab. c. i. v. 62, 63. "Howbeit many in Israel were firmly resolved not to profane the holy covenant; so then they died."

²⁰ That is, in the Jewish style, when Antiochus "had set up the abomination of desolation." Maccab.

²¹ Chronicles, c. xxv. v. 7.

was renowned for matchless strength and high heroic valour. CHAP.
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The names of the remaining brothers were Johanan, Eleazar, and Jonathan²², destined also to act illustrious parts in a warfare prompted alike by piety and patriotism. The father of this dauntless family was accosted by Appelles in the language which he had before held on similar occasions; and exhorted, as superior to his fellow citizens in rank, to be the foremost in adopting the new worship. But Mattathias, with a voice to be heard by the gathering multitude, declared, that though all men should obey the king's decree, himself and his sons would maintain their prior covenant with God; and when he perceived an apostate Jew sacrificing to an idol, he instantly leaped forward and inflicted on him the punishment denounced against this transgression by the law of Moses. His sons, fired by the example, executed the same summary vengeance on the Greek missionary and his attendants; after which the whole family took flight to the neighbouring mountains, and were followed by many of their townsmen who approved their zeal and boldness. With this transaction commenced the religious wars of the Jews, which lasted twenty-six years under five Syrian kings; and after destroying above two hundred thousand of the best troops belonging to those princes, terminated in the emancipation of Judæa and the independent government of the Asmonæans, priests and sovereigns, all of them descended from Mattathias, although the name of their dynasty is borrowed from Asmonæus, an illustrious also, and more remote ancestor.

The extraordinary result of this warfare, in the triumph of a petty province over a great monarchy, must be ascribed chiefly to the inflexible spirit of the Jews, more stubborn than the iron rocks which they inhabited. But this primary cause was seconded by the strange misconduct, or rather madness of the Syrian kings; by the state of hostility in which they lived with most powers in their neighbourhood; above

²² See 1 Maccab. c. ii.

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all, by the distracted condition of their provinces, and even of their court and capital. An explanation of each of these particulars in its order will include every historical event that happened in the Macedonian empire during the period of time above specified.

Maccabees
—their
courage
and mode
of warfare.

The small but resolute band that followed Mattathias to the mountains, speedily received accessions from all parts of the persecuted country. It happened that a party of these fugitives had fallen victims to a too literal acceptance of the command, "hallow the sabbath day;" and it was now first resolved, that respect for this ordinance ought not to prevent the Jews on the sabbath from defending their laws and their lives. As the adherents to Mattathias gained numbers and strength, they ventured to descend from their mountains; others who had espoused the same cause emerged from caverns and deserts; night was the main season of their warfare; they made inroads suddenly into the habitable country and as suddenly disappeared, after they had overturned the idolatrous altars, opened anew the Jewish synagogues, collected and multiplied the copies of the sacred books, and distinguished by the sign of the covenant all male children born since the commencement of the persecution. In these desultory expeditions, being commanded during the first year by Mattathias, upon his death, in very advanced age, they followed the standard of his son Judas, surnamed Maccabeus, as his followers are called Maccabees, from the initials of the Hebrew words engraved on his standard, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah²³!" Such at least is the national tradition concerning the origin of a name, applicable in its strict sense to persons enlisted under Judas and his brethren²⁴, but also applied more extensively to those who before Judas raised his standard, had magnanimously braved death in the same religious cause: particularly the

²³ Exodus, c. xv. v. 2.

the first and second book of the

²⁴ Their history is contained in Maccabees.

Jews recently tortured at Jerusalem by the merciless Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as those martyred fifty years before at Alexandria²⁵ by the brutish Ptolemy Philopater. CHAP.
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As the insurrection in Judæa reached not the capital of the province, and the idol of Jupiter still profaned the altar of Jehovah, the government of Syria reserved the mutinous proceedings of the Jews for matter of future vengeance. The king, his whole court and generals, and almost every distinguished individual in the state or army, were busied in preparing for a solemnity at Daphnè near Antioch, that was to eclipse the games recently celebrated by Paulus Emilius in Amphipolis, and even those still more magnificent exhibited at Alexandria during the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus. But the magnificence displayed by Emilius was a triumph over conquered Macedon; and that displayed by the first Ptolemy, in associating his son to the government, was the still nobler triumph of skilful industry and bold commercial enterprize; whereas the gold, the gems, the spices, perfumes, the embroidered tissues of curious fabric, the innumerable paintings and statues, ostentatiously shown by Antiochus, were merciless extortions of rapine aggravated by sacrilege²⁶. But such was the fondness of the Greeks for public solemnities, that sacred embassies, as they were called, came from nearly three hundred cities to partake in the religious games, and to carry to the gods their accustomed offerings. The gymnastic exercises, and other entertainments, lasted thirty days, during which time king Antiochus was not the least curious part of the spectacle. Himself vilely mounted, he would conduct the pompous cavalcades of Nisæan horses and Indian elephants; sometimes hastening their progress, and again as capriciously retarding it. At the banquets which succeeded these military reviews and pro-

Festival at
Daphne.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

Degrading
extrava-
gancies of
Antiochus.

²⁵ Their history is contained in the third book of the Maccabees; and the history of those martyred at Jerusalem is written by Josephus,

in what is called the Fourth Book of the Maccabees.

²⁶ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 3. & seq. Conf. Diodor Excerpt. p. 583.

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cessions, he would run jesting from lodge to lodge, show the guests to their seats, snatch a mouthful from one table, drink hastily at another, and at length conclude with playing the fool among the hired buffoons and mimics to the scandal and disgust of all who saw him²⁷.

First victo-
ries of Ju-
das Macca-
beus.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

While Antiochus was exhibiting these extravagancies at Daphnè, the Maccabees were acting a very different part in Judæa. In succeeding to the designs of his aged father, Judas carried them on with a youthful ardour. He had increased his little army to six thousand men, before Apollonius, the recent plunderer of Jerusalem, took the field against him. The Syrian general was defeated and slain; Judas, amongst other spoil, seized his sword, and made signal use of it against succeeding invaders. The first of these was Seron, Ptolemy Macron's lieutenant in the government of Cœlesyria. Seron's army, in itself numerous, was swelled by a crowd of hellenising Jews and renegado Samaritans. But Judas taught his faithful band, "that the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host, but strength cometh from heaven." In the descent from Bethoron he leaped suddenly on the enemy²⁸: Seron fell; his army was put to the

Antiochus'
marches to
the East.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

rout. Scarcely had these exploits reached the ears of Antiochus, when serious disorders broke out in distant parts of his empire. He learned at once from the north and from the east²⁹, that in consequence of the discontents excited by the rapacity of his overseers and missionaries, many provinces had determined to withhold their contributions³⁰. Upon this emergency, he determined to move in person into Upper Asia, with part of the forces that had recently passed in review at Daphnè; and, as the expedition must employ several years, he named Lysias, a general allied to him in blood, for his viceroy in the dominions on this side the Euphrates, at the

His viceroy
Lysias.

²⁷ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 21.

²⁸ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 23. In the Apocrypha, the wars of the Jews are described with primitive simplicity. Josephus uses the terms of

Greek tactics, but is not more informing.

²⁹ Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 24.

³⁰ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 29.

same time appointing him guardian to his son, a boy seven years old, of the same name with his father. According to instructions received before the departure of Antiochus, Lysias concerted measures with Ptolemy Macron for suppressing the disorders in Judæa, which, since the overthrow of Apollonius and Seron, had been growing every day more formidable³¹.

An army thus marched into Judæa, forty thousand strong, and encamped at Emmaus, in the heart of the devoted province, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, generals of approved merit. As little doubt was entertained that so mighty a host would prevail against the refractory Jews, upwards of a thousand merchants from the seacoast flocked to the Syrian camp, in order to make cheap purchases of slaves; for Nicanor had boasted that he would sell ninety rebels for a talent, that is, at the rate of two pounds sterling a head. Upon learning these proceedings, Judas assembled his men at Maspha, a mountain of extensive prospect, overlooking the tents of the Syrians at Emmaus; and as Jerusalem and its sanctuary were still garrisoned by the enemy, Maspha, which had formerly been a place of national meeting, appeared the fittest temple at the present dangerous crisis. After performing religious worship, Judas, according to the law, caused proclamation to be made, that such men, as, in the course of the passing year, had built houses, betrothed wives, planted vineyards, or were fearful, should enjoy full liberty to depart from his standard³². Many availed themselves of the permission, by which means his numbers were reduced below a tenth part of the enemy's, but Judas reminded them of the destruction that had fallen on the countless host of Senacherib³³, and how eight thousand Jews had defeated an hundred and twenty thousand Gauls, in the famous battle of Babylon³⁴.

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Prepara-
tion for the
battle of
Maspha.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

³¹ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 31. & seq.

above vol. i. p. 123.

³² Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 11.

³⁴ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20. See

1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 40. & seq.

above, vol. ii. p. 229.

³³ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 19. See

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Nicanor
and Gor-
gias suc-
cessively de-
feated.

With a small band, but of which each individual had resolved to conquer or die, he descended from Maspha to encamp nearer the Syrians; and having learned that Gorgias, with a chosen detachment, had moved to attack him in the night, and thereby intercept his retreat to the mountains, he dexterously counteracted this stratagem, and made it recoil on his adversaries. With the utmost celerity he surprised and assaulted Nicanor during the absence of his colleague. The victory of the Jews was complete; the Syrian camp was set on fire, but Judas forbade his men to plunder it, because they had still to encounter and defeat the detachment under Gorgias. That general had reached in the night the post recently occupied by the Jews; and, on finding it deserted, he exclaimed, with scorn, "the banditti have fled to the mountains." But Nicanor's smoking tents speedily undeceived him. At the first sight of the victorious standard of Judas, this second division of the enemy had recourse to a precipitate flight. The Jews pursued; in the two routs nine thousand Syrians fell; Gorgias took refuge within the fortress of Jerusalem; Nicanor escaped in disguise to Antioch, and justified his ill success to the viceroy Lysias, his employer, by declaring to him that it was in vain to fight against men who were supported by more than mortal aid³⁵.

Defeat of
the viceroy
Lysias.
Olymp.
eliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

Upon returning from the pursuit, the Jews plundered the Syrian camp, in which they found many precious commodities, purple of the sea, blue silk³⁶, and great riches, particularly large sums of money, which the merchants above mentioned had brought to purchase the rebels in Palestine for slaves. On the ensuing sabbath, the victors celebrated their success with devout thanksgivings, and, although they were unprovided with engines fit to batter the fortress in Jerusalem, spared no exertion for expelling idols and their worshippers from other strongholds in the province. In the district

³⁵ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. iv. 2 Maccab. c. viii.

³⁶ Rather lilac, *vuxivθoc*. 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 23.

beyond Jordan they are said to have slain twenty thousand Syrians under Timotheus and Bacchides, and thereby augmented their stands of arms beyond the number requisite for equipping all the warriors amongst them³⁷. Notwithstanding this extreme weakness, they were not dismayed by a new invasion next year, under the viceroy Lysias, whose army exceeded by one third that which had been commanded by Nicanor and Gorgias. The enemy approached by Idumæa, the land of Edom, a name which anciently comprehended the wide deserts between the Red Sea, and the lake Asphaltites, but which was now restricted to the diminutive territory immediately west of that lake, originally forming the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon and part of the tribe of Judah. In consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the lands of these tribes long lay desolate, but were finally occupied by the more industrious portion of the children of Esau, or Edomites, and thence called Idumæa; whereas the stony deserts to the south, formerly the land of Edom, assumed its name of Arabia Petræa, from the stronghold Petra, the capital, as we have seen, of the Nabathæan Arabs. On the side of a country peculiarly hostile to the Jews, Lysias marched against them in all the ostentatious pomp of delegated power, at the head of an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Having entered their frontier at Bethsura, a place between Jerusalem and Hebron the capital of Idumæa, he advanced with full confidence to the battle. Judas opposed him with only ten thousand men, but with such resistless valour, that the Syrians were routed and dispersed, and their camp despoiled of that operose magnificence, which only encumbered its late owners, but which was of high importance to the Jews, towards the design which they immediately formed after this decisive victory³⁸.

Their design was nothing less than to recover and purify the temple of Jerusalem, and to provide it with all things

Dedication
of the temple,
or

³⁷ 2 Maccab. c. viii.

³⁸ 1 Maccab. c. iv.

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feast of
lights.
Olymp.
cliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

essential to its former worship; an undertaking which was accomplished exactly at the end of three years after the abomination of Jupiter's statue had been erected on the altar of Jehovah³⁹. In the same month Cisleu, and on the same day of that month, the altar was consecrated anew to the Almighty, and daily sacrifices began to be performed on it, accompanied with hymns of praise, instrumental music, and joyful illuminations, from which last circumstance the festival of the dedication is sometimes called the feast of lights⁴⁰. The splendid solemnity lasted eight days; and, for the same space of time, its anniversary continued thenceforward to be regularly celebrated at Jerusalem, until the final destruction of the temple, thirty-seven years after the crucifixion; that is, as predicted in the gospel⁴¹, before the generation in which Christ taught and suffered had entirely passed away.

The temple fortified against mount Acra.

Notwithstanding the triumphant success of the Maccabees, they found it impossible to expel the Syrians from their fortress on mount Acra. Its strength by art and nature rendered it impregnable. It had been abundantly victualled, and it was defended by men fearful of retaliation for their enormous cruelties. Yet, as it overtopped the temple, and afforded an opportunity of annoying all who came thither to worship, some expedient was necessary for removing this grievance. The mountain of the temple was therefore protected with new walls and towers of great loftiness, continually manned by a powerful and vigilant garrison. Judas also fortified Bethsura to serve as a barrier against the enemy, on that most exposed frontier⁴².

Antiochus' proceedings in the East.
Olymp.
cliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

During the war in Palestine, so disastrous to the Syrians, Antiochus had prosecuted an expedition not less disastrous, into Upper Asia. In the march thither, his proceedings are very imperfectly explained⁴³; but in the return, part of the

³⁹ Josephus, c. xii. v. 11. 1 Maccab. c. iv. 2 Maccab. c. x.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid*.

⁴¹ Matthew, c. xxiv.

⁴² 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 60. & seq. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 11.

⁴³ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 66 Conf. c. xlv.

army being left to collect tribute, Antiochus, with a powerful escort, advanced to plunder a temple and rich staple of trade in Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, and the main caravan communication between Susiana and Media⁴⁴. In this impious attempt to rifle treasures under the protection of Venus or Diana⁴⁵, whose altars had been honoured and enriched by the great Alexander, he was defeated with peculiar circumstances of disgrace, by the inhabitants of the surrounding district⁴⁶, and reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat⁴⁷ to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There, he first learned the repeated discomfitures and routs of his armies⁴⁸; tidings which exasperated to fury the wounds which his pride had received in the late repulse from Elymais. In the fire of his rage he swore that he would render Palæstine the sepulchre of the Jews, and precipitating his march westward⁴⁹, for that purpose, was overthrown in his chariot⁵⁰, and died of his wounds at the obscure village Tabæ, situate somewhere on the mountainous confines of Assyria⁵¹. In addition to this simple story, Jewish and Greek writers attest that the death of Antiochus was attended with extraordinary circumstances. He was seized with a phrensy, as Polybius re-ports, in consequence of conspicuous manifestations of divine displeasure, wonders ascribed by that respectable pagan writer to the tutelary divinity of Elymais, whose temple and treasure he had recently destined to depredation⁵², but referred in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus, to a

Extraordi-
nary cir-
cumstances
attending
his death.
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

⁴⁴ Strab. l. xvi. p. 1080.

⁴⁵ Appian. Syriac. c. lxvi. says Venus; Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11, Diana. The temple violated by Antiochus the Great, Justin calls templum Elymzi Jovis. Justin, l. xxxiii. c. 2.

⁴⁶ Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

⁴⁷ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11.

⁴⁸ 2 Maccab. c. ix. v. 3.

⁴⁹ The Latin and English translations of 1 Maccabees, c. vi. v. 4, make Antiochus return to Babylon, but

αποστρεψας εις Βαβυλωνα, denotes only that he took the route towards that city.

⁵⁰ 2 Maccab. c. ix. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. vi.

⁵¹ Curtius, l. v. c. 13, says at the extremity of the Paratacæne mountains, confounding this eastern chain with the more western chain of mount Zagros. See above, vol. i. p. 10.

⁵² Polyb. l. xxxi. c. 11.

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just judgment of the Almighty, whose temple he had actually⁵² plundered, profaned, and desolated; and whose sincere worshippers he had subjected to the rage of bloody massacres, and the more execrable refinements of deliberate torture. In the work of destruction, he deserved his title of Epiphanes, since in this he was truly preeminent above all the Syrian kings. Yet his flatterers extolled his great improvement of Antioch, on the Orontes, to which he added the last of the four quarters into which that capital was divided⁵³. He also enlarged Hemath or Epiphania, a city south of Antioch, and a hundred miles nearer the source of the Orontes⁵⁴. Shortly before he expired, he devolved his authority on Philip⁵⁵, one of his generals, as if he had forgotten that the regency of the kingdom on this side the Euphrates, and the guardianship of young Antiochus, had been already delegated to Lysias, his near kinsman.

Antiochus
V Eupator,
and his
guardian
Lysias. -
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

Upon the first intelligence of the king's death, Lysias accordingly availed himself of the advantage of having the heir in his hands, placed him on the throne at Antioch, under the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assumed for himself, as protector, the entire direction of the monarchy. When Philip arrived from Upper Asia, with the crown and signet of his deceased master, he found the authority which these badges were intended to convey to him, already usurped by another. To avoid the danger to which his high pretensions might expose his life, he fled into Egypt⁵⁶, purposing, however, to vindicate his claim to power, through the aid of that kingdom, and of some mercenary forces expected from the East.

⁵² Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. c. 13, says, it is likely that Antiochus should have been punished rather for actually plundering the temple of Jerusalem, than for a simple attempt against that of Elymais, which failed in the execution. This inconclusive argument, in a good cause, savours of the ethics too

prevalent among the Jews, of looking to external acts and events, rather than to the inward purposes of the heart.

⁵³ Strabo, Pausanias, and Pliny.

⁵⁴ Hieronym. in Daniel xi. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

⁵⁵ 1 Maccab. c. vi. 2 Maccab. c. ix.

⁵⁶ 2 Maccab. c. ix.

The disastrous expedition of Antiochus, his unexpected death, a successor only nine years old, and a disputed regency, were circumstances highly favourable to the Maccabees. Upon the recovery of their temple, and the restoration of their national worship, the humble piety of these successful warriors implored the Almighty that Jerusalem might thenceforth be protected against such dreadful calamities as these which it had recently endured; they fell flat on their faces, and fervently prayed, that, should their sins deserve punishment, God would himself chasten them in mercy ⁵⁷, without farther subjecting them to the boundless rage of barbarous and blasphemous enemies. The unstable condition of Antiochus Eupator engaged his council to grant them, a breathing time, at the commencement of his reign. But the peace offered to them seems to have been altogether fallacious, since Ptolemy Macron, whom the firmness of their proceedings had converted from an enemy into an admirer, was thereby exposed to the resentment of his colleagues. The government of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which he had long held, was taken from him by general consent, and assumed by Lysias the chief of the council, as protector of young Antiochus. Macron, being thus divested of his power, was forsaken by his creatures or flatterers, and reduced to ignoble solitude, of all states the most painful to a child of ambition. He terminated his mortifying reflections by a draught of poison ⁵⁸.

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Peace
granted by
them to
the Jews.
—Death of
Ptolemy
Macron.
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

While the fears of the Syrian court ill disguised its hostility to the Jews, the bordering nations or tribes gave vent to all the animosity against them that can be excited by jealousy of neighbourhood, opposition in religion, and the envy of sudden and improbable prosperity. Idumæa on the south, Samaria and Galilee on the north, the seacoast of Phœnicia, and beyond the river Jordan the whole country extending from Damascus to the southern extremity of the lake Asphaltites, adopted at once, and as it were, by concert,

Unlicensed
war against
them—its
outrages
retaliated:

⁵⁷ 2 Maccab. c. x. v. 4.⁵⁸ 2 Maccab. c. x.

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the resolution of cutting off every worshipper of Jehovah, that could be found within their respective limits: and this cruel conspiracy was carried too successfully into execution. The tale of horror roused Judas and his brethren. They flew to the protection of such faithful Israelites as had escaped the massacre. Some they released from confinement and bonds. To others they brought seasonable succour by appearing before the strongholds in which they had taken refuge. Their success was on all sides equally memorable and complete; particularly that of Simon in Galilee, and that of Judas in the land of Gilead⁵⁹. After defeating the Syrian officers in this latter district, Judas exercised terrible but just vengeance on the assassins; many of their cities were taken, despoiled, totally destroyed by fire, and all males belonging to them committed to the sword⁶⁰.

Defeat of
Lysias and
Timotheus.
Olymp.
cliv. 2.
B. C. 163.

The sad issue of this war, which had been waged by his subjects without authority from young Antiochus, or his tutor Lysias, at length compelled the latter to take the field at the head of the royal army. It amounted to eighty thousand foot and a due proportion of cavalry and elephants⁶¹. It approached on the side of Idumæa, and laid siege to Bethsura, the main stronghold of the Jews on that frontier. Before the walls of this place, the valour of the Jews overmatched vast superiority in point of force. Above twelve thousand Syrians fell; and Lysias, in apprehension of still greater disasters, became eager to conclude a peace with the conquerors, on honourable terms, particularly by granting to them the free enjoyment, in future, of their religion and laws. But the passions which rankled in the heathen nations contiguous to Judæa, prevented them from approving this measure. That they might effectually prosecute the war, they flocked to the standard of Timotheus, the Syrian general, beyond Jordan, and enabled him to assemble an army still more numerous than that defeated under Lysias. Judas encountered and discomfited him with great slaughter at Raphon, in the land of

⁵⁹ 1 Maccab. c. v.⁶⁰ 2 Maccab. c. x.⁶¹ 2 Maccab. c. xi.

Gilead; and many of the vanquished having taken refuge in Carnaim, or Carno⁶², the Jews pursued them thither, gained possession of the place, and destroyed by fire the temple of the Syrian goddess Derceto⁶³, with a miserable crowd of fugitives who had retired into it for safety. After these successes, Judas pervaded as conqueror the country beyond Jordan; and then repassing that river, overran with as little resistance the land of the Idumæans and Philistines. In the expedition of Judas into Gilead, as well as that in the preceding year of Simon into Galilee, the return of the victors was crowded by many helpless Israelites, who feared to remain behind within the dominions of their enemies⁶⁴. To these emigrants vacant lands were assigned in Judæa Proper, where ample room had been made for them by Syrian invasions, accompanied, as we have seen, with signal desolation.

Having performed a series of exploits equally calculated to insure safety and to gratify revenge, the Maccabees could no longer endure with patience to behold a Syrian garrison in the fortress Acra, overlooking and still threatening their temple. This thorn in their sides, grievous as it was, they had hitherto suffered to remain, from their little experience as engineers. They now set themselves, however, to prepare engines of superior efficacy, and the siege having commenced with vigour, the Syrian garrison, and still more the renegade Jews who reinforced it, in despair of holding out without speedy succour, sent the most pressing instances to Antioch, imploring the king's assistance on an emergency big with destruction, accompanied with every excess of cruelty, to his best and most steadfast friends. The triumphs of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee might already have convinced Lysias of the necessity of assembling a more powerful army than that which either himself or his lieutenants had hitherto brought into the field. He appears to have acted on

Defeat of
the Jews.
—Jerusa-
lem be-
sieged.
Olymp.
cliv. 2.
B. C. 163.

⁶² Conf. Maccab. Strabo and Ptolemy. l. xvi. p. 748. and Plin. l. v. c. 23.

⁶⁴ 1 Maccab. c. v.

⁶³ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. v. Strabo,

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this conviction, since, upon the first intelligence of the siege of Acra, he was ready to invade Judæa with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 800 armed chariots, and those forces superior to his former preparations in quality as well as number. He approached in company with his young master, on the side of Idumæa; the Jews raised the siege of Acra, that they might encounter the invaders; a battle ensued, in which heroic valour was exhausted, and at length overpowered by superior numbers; Eleazar, the brother of Judas, hoping to regain the day by slaying young Antiochus, drove furiously against an elephant loftier than the rest and royally harnessed, on which he erroneously conjectured that prince to be mounted. Having cleared his way by resistless fury and great havoc of the enemy, he stooped under the elephant's belly, and stabbed it with such unhappy effect, that the huge animal instantly dropped down, and overwhelmed him with its weight⁶⁵. The Jews then made a general retreat to their capital, to which, after first taking Bethsura, the Syrians laid siege. Scarcity of provisions would have compelled the place to surrender⁶⁶, when commotions in Syria occasioned a diversion in its favour.

The siege raised in consequence of commotions in Syria.

Peace with the Jews. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 168.

Philip, whom the late Antiochus Epiphanes had in his last moments named to the regency, invaded Syria with troops drawn from the east, and made himself master of the capital. Upon this emergency, Lysias and his pupil were in haste to move northwards, for the defence of their dominions and the recovery of their imperial city. By a return nearly as sudden as the irruption of the invader, they regained Antioch, defeated and slew Philip, and dispersed or destroyed his followers⁶⁷. Before marching from Jerusalem, that they might not leave an enemy behind them, they had concluded a hasty peace with the Jews, on the same terms of freedom of worship and immunity that had formerly been stipulated, and on the part of the Syrians so shamefully violated. Of this second treaty the

⁶⁵ 1 Maccab. c. vi.

⁶⁶ 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

⁶⁷ Joseph. Antiq. xii. 9. 1 Maccab. c. vi.

unworthy Menelaus, the banished highpriest of Jerusalem, was the bond and the victim⁶⁸. He had accompanied the invading army, in hopes of being restored to his high rank in his country, armed with fresh powers of extortion and murder, alternately to gratify his avarice and to satiate his cruelty. But this wretch, one of the three hellenizing brothers⁶⁹, the prime abettors of all the calamities of their nation, was resigned by the Syrian government to what was called the punishment of ashes, a punishment inflicted on the worst and most odious offenders. It was an invention of the Persians⁷⁰, a people whose genius was exerted in the contrivance of barbarous executions to support a more barbarous despotism. The punishment of ashes is differently described; suffice it to say, that those materials, inclosed in a lofty tower, were made the engines of slow and suffocating torture.

The treaty just concluded with the Jews would not have been better observed than that formerly granted to them; but shortly after the suppression of the pretender Philip, young Antiochus and his tutor were called to a more dangerous competition. Demetrius, son to Seleucus IV. Philopater, and lineal heir to the Syrian monarchy, no sooner learned the death of Antiochus Euphron, than he used every endeavour to prevent himself from being excluded a second time from a throne to which his birth entitled him. He had been sent by his father as an hostage to Rome, and since the death of that prince, had been detained there thirteen years in a sort of honourable captivity. His uncle Euphron, by servile flattery to the Romans, had been permitted to assume his crown; but Demetrius insisted, with much reason, that this possession should not devolve by inheritance from an usurper. For himself, he said to the Romans that he had lived among them from childhood to his twenty-fourth year; that he looked on the senators as his fathers, and on their

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Demetrius
rightful
heir to Sy-
ria—his
treatment
at Rome.
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

⁶⁸ 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

See above, vol. iii. p. 117.

⁶⁹ Jason, Menelaus, Lysimachus.

⁷⁰ Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

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sons as his brothers: that they ought not to suffer, as it were, their own blood to be stripped of its just rights, but send him, properly accompanied, into Syria, to take possession of his kingdom. The senate, however, lent a deaf ear to his remonstrances⁷¹; it was a maxim with the Romans to prefer, in the succession to kingdoms, persons of weak characters and unripe years, to princes twenty-four years old, especially when they discerned in them strong symptoms of ambition.

Octavius, a
Roman am-
bassador,
slain in
Syria.
Olymp.
cliv. 3.
B. C. 162.

Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Antioch to confirm the coronation of Antiochus Eupator. At the head of this embassy was Cneius Octavius, whom we have seen as admiral in the war against Perseus, and whose name was, after four generations, signalized in his descendent the triumvir Octavius Cæsar, successively the tyrant and the father of the Roman world. The ambassador Octavius acted tyrannically in Syria. He was justified indeed in destroying the ships and elephants⁷² which he found in that country, contrary to treaty. But this offensive business he executed in a more offensive manner: and a Syrian Greek named Leptines, stung with indignation at his arrogance, seized an opportunity of assassinating him in a bath at Laodicea⁷³. The news of this event, so disgraceful to the government of his rival, encouraged Demetrius to renew his instances with the Roman senate. They proved again unsuccessful; and the heir to the Syrian crown feared to end his days in Italy, when fortune made him acquainted with two Greeks, then resident in Rome, who filled him with better hopes, and enabled him to realize them.

Demetrius
escapes
from Italy
through the
assistance
of Polybius
and Menyl-

The first of these was the historian Polybius, with whom Demetrius had contracted an intimacy amidst the sports of the field, which they both loved to indulge in; and the second was Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometer, and Polybius' confidential friend. They exhorted

⁷¹ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 12.

⁷³ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4.

⁷² Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. xlvi.

the young prince never again to apply to the senate, but to trust to their management and his own good fortune for effecting his escape. Shortly after this advice had been enforced by Polybius, a certain Diodorus arrived from Syria, who, having been intrusted with the care of Demetrius in his childhood, hastened, in the eagerness of affection, to acquaint him, that such were the discontents excited by the murder of Octavius, the Roman ambassador, and such the suspicions of the army against Lysias, and of Lysias against his army, that should the rightful heir to the crown arrive in Syria without a single attendant, he would find little difficulty in gaining possession of the kingdom. Demetrius, though a prisoner at Rome, lived there in princely magnificence: he was accompanied by many Syrians of great distinction; he spent his time with them in mutual visits and entertainments; and he enjoyed the privilege of hunting the wild boar at a great distance from the capital. Under pretence of this amusement, he determined clandestinely to sail for Asia in a Carthaginian vessel which then lay at the mouth of the Tiber. This vessel, being bound for Phœnicia, to carry the annual acknowledgments from the colony of Carthage to Tyre the mother country, Menyllus, then ready to return home, hired a passage in it for himself and his servants; he spoke with the captain, examined his accommodation, and laid in stores without creating the smallest suspicion. Before the day fixed for departure arrived, Menyllus again visited the captain, and told him that unforeseen events had arisen which would hinder him from embarking personally, but that their agreement should nevertheless stand good, because he still wished to send part of his servants into Egypt, who about the hour of midnight would be ready to come on shipboard. The Carthaginian replied, that he also should be ready to receive them. On the same day Demetrius, with those privy to his designs, supped at the house of one of his Syrian companions, with the declared purpose of proceeding that evening from Rome on a hunting party to Anagnia, forty miles dis-

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Olymp.
cliv. 3.
B. C. 162

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tant. He chose not to give the entertainment himself, (his own parties being commonly very numerous,) for fear of offending those uninvited to it. That day, Polybius happened to be kept at home by indisposition; but, as he knew from Menyllus every step taken in the business, he began to fear that Demetrius, who was a hard drinker, as well as a keen sportsman, might frustrate his own success through intemperance in wine. He therefore sent to him a boy with a tablet containing a few verses from the Gnostic poets, recommending sobriety, vigilance, distrust, above all, expedition, extolling these qualities as the sinews of successful enterprise. Demetrius read, and recognised the author of the admonition. On pretence of a nausea from drinking, he left the company. The other guests followed him. Those, not in his secret, were sent forward to Anagnia, with orders to proceed with the dogs and nets twenty miles further, to mount Circæum, a place almost surrounded by the Pomptine marshes, and abounding in wild boar. Instead of following the sportsmen, as was expected, to that place, Demetrius, with those destined to embark with him, eight in number, and each with a single servant, proceeded to some tents which had been pitched for the convenience of their rural amusements, hastily equipped themselves as travellers, and advanced with a rapid pace to take shipping at Ostia, fifteen miles from Rome. The Carthaginian had every thing in readiness, the wind was favourable, and the fugitives had nearly reached the straits of Messina before their departure was suspected, or at least authenticated. It was then too late to pursue them. The senate, however, sent Tiberius Gracchus, at the head of an embassy or commission, to inspect the affairs of Syria and the neighbouring kingdoms⁷⁴.

Syria submits to Demetrius Soter.

Before the Roman commissioners arrived in Asia, Demetrius had seated himself on the throne of his ancestors. He landed at Tripolis in Phœnicia, and proceeded from thence to Apamea, where his ancient tutor Diodorus, by leaving

⁷⁴ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 19—22.

Italy many days before him, had provided for his welcome reception. With increasing bands of adherents, he marched towards Antioch; none doubted that he returned with the full approbation of the Romans, justly provoked at the Syrian government by the murder of their ambassador Octavius: a mutiny broke out in the army commanding the capital: Lysias, with his pupil Eupator, were made captives by their own forces, who proclaimed their allegiance to Demetrius, by desiring to know his pleasure with regard to their prisoners. He replied, "let me not see their faces:" they suffered the death of usurpers, unresisting and unlamented. Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, perished in the twelfth year of his age, and the third of his nominal reign⁷⁵.

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Olymp.
cliv. 3.
B. C. 162.

Towards effecting this revolution, Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometer, had been induced to cooperate, partly through resentment against the Roman senate's manifest injustice to his master. Five years before the Romans set a child and an usurper on the throne of the Seleucidæ, they had weakened the kingdom of the Ptolemies by division. Philometer, the sole heir to the crown, had been compelled to associate his younger brother Physcon to the government. After various struggles between these rivals in power, during which the mild virtues of the one strongly contrasted with the savage ferocity of the other, the intolerable turpitude of Physcon drove him in disgrace from Alexandria. But he was still the favourite of the Romans, because his vices seemed useful to them. Philometer was commanded to resign to him the Egyptian dependencies in Libya, particularly the kingdom of Cyrenè; and when this order was complied with, the isle of Cyprus, recently recovered from the crown of Syria, was also adjudged to him, that his domain might stand on a nearer foot of equality with that of his brother. In the course of these transactions, both the Ptolemies appeared personally at Rome; and the senate never ceased to be assailed by the applications of their

Reason
why Me-
nyllus pro-
moted the
views of
Demetrius.

⁷⁵ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. 7. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.

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respective ambassadors⁷⁶. At the present crisis, Menyllus made strong remonstrances against the cession of Cyprus. He proved in the senate, by the testimony of such Romans themselves as had been employed on various missions into Africa, that Philometer had shown the utmost deference to every injunction from Rome; that he had exerted himself to maintain Physcon's authority in Cyrenè, notwithstanding the strong dislike of the country to his character and government; and that, on different occasions, he had even saved the life of a brother, who now wished, by parcels, to rob him of his kingdom⁷⁷. Neither the well urged arguments of Menyllus, nor the strongest proofs of their solidity, could prevail against the selfishness of Roman policy. Titus Torquatus, and Cneius Merula were deputed from the senate to put Physcon in possession of Cyprus⁷⁸.

Long war
between
the Egyp-
tian
brothers.
Olymp.
cliv. 3.—
clvi. 2.
B. C. 162—
155.

This commission gave rise to a long but unimportant war between the brothers⁷⁹. Physcon levied mercenaries in Greece and Macedon: the Romans intimated to their Asiatic allies that, by cooperating towards his success, they would deserve well of the republic. But, before he found himself in a condition to invade Cyprus, the Cyreneans were in rebellion. Physcon was repeatedly vanquished; first, by a body of 8,000 Cyrenean insurgents on the eastern frontier of the Pentapolis; and next, by his brother on the banks of the Lapithus in Cyprus; which defeat compelled him to take shelter within a fortress of the same name with the river. Being reduced to extremity in a long siege, he threw himself once more on that fraternal clemency which he had often experienced. The merciful Philometer pardoned his offences, enabled him to recover his dominion over Cyrenè, and resigned to him certain districts in Cyprus, yielding a large revenue in corn. In this generous proceeding, Philometer should seem to have acted not chiefly from fear of Rome, but,

⁷⁶ Valer. Maxim. Tit. Liv. Epit.
tom. l. xlv.

⁷⁷ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 18. l. xxxii. c. 5. l. xl. c. 12.

⁷⁸ Id. ibid.

⁷⁹ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 18, 25, 27.

l. xxii. c. 1.

rather from the mild benignity of his own temper. From the age of fifteen, he governed twenty years without listening to a single accusation against any one whom he had ever treated as a friend, and without putting to death a single state criminal⁸⁰. Yet his forgiveness of the abominable Physcon was cruelty to the Libyan Greeks, and eventually worse cruelty to the Egyptians themselves, since, on the death of Philometer, ten years afterwards, Physcon resumed sovereignty in Egypt, and ruled that country twenty-nine years with the most tremendous and bloody despotism⁸¹.

Upon mounting the throne of Syria, Demetrius was involved in too many domestic anxieties to take concern in the affairs of Egypt or any other foreign kingdom. In the commencement of his reign, he defeated and disgraced two powerful instruments of the late government, Timarchus governor of Babylonia, and Heraclides treasurer in that wealthiest of the satrapies. From his suppression of these officers, under whose severities the Babylonians had long smarted, he obtained his title of Soter, or Saviour, by which he is distinguished in history⁸². At the instigation of Alcimus, an hellenizing Jew, and pretending to the office of highpriest of Jerusalem, he turned his arms against the Maccabees⁸³, to destroy what he was taught to regard as a rebellious faction. But his principal care was to court the Romans by embassies, and presents, and professions of the most humble respect⁸⁴. To show his zeal in whatever concerned that people, he made diligent inquiry into the murder of their ambassador Octavius, without being able by any of his discoveries, to implicate, in that transaction, the late Syrian government. The perpetrator of the deed was Lep-
tines, a Syrian Greek yet a firm patriot, who could not brook the arrogance of the Romans to his countrymen, and who, instead of denying the fact, openly gloried in it, at the same time that he predicted with equal sagacity and confidence,

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Demetrius
Soter—his
proceed-
ings.
Olymp.
cliv. 3, 4.
B. C. 162
—161.

⁸⁰ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

⁸¹ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 644.

⁸² Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.

⁸³ 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab.

c. xiv

⁸⁴ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4. 8. 6.

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Leptines
and Iso-
crates, the
assassins of
Octavius,
sent to
Rome—
strange
contrast be-
tween
them.

that no harm would fall on him for so glorious a transgression⁸⁵. This extraordinary man was sent to Rome together with another Greek, whose pusillanimity strongly contrasted with Leptines' dauntless courage. The Greek, alluded to, bore and disgraced the name of Isocrates. He was a vain loquacious man, who lectured in public, and whose ostentation and emptiness had exposed him to ridicule at Athens, a place still renowned for learning, after it had ceased to be considerable in power. The contempt, with which he had been treated in Greece, made him remove in quest of admirers into Syria. In this country, he ventured, in his lectures, to mix politics with literature. The rapacity and insolence of the Romans formed his favourite theme, and he frequently extolled the assassination of Octavius as an example worthy to be imitated. These offensive speeches were reported to government. Isocrates was tried, convicted, and ordered to be sent to Rome that he might be punished at the will of the senate. From the moment of his accusation he was afflicted with an agony of terror; he totally neglected his person; his hair was uncombed, his nails were allowed to grow to unmeasured length; and when he arrived at Rome, he was viewed as a sort of mixed monster, at once hideous and ridiculous⁸⁶. But Leptines showed himself in the senate with an erect aspect, bold, firm, and immovable; and, as he had uniformly predicted, no harm befel him, the Romans being unwilling to wash out what they affected to regard as the guilt of the Syrian nation and government, in the blood of individual delinquents.

Renewed
war with
the Jews.
Olymp.
cliv. 4.
B. C. 161.

Meanwhile hostilities had recommenced in Judæa; and Nicanor, a general often unfortunate in that country, had been defeated and slain⁸⁷ by Judas in a great battle near Bethoron. Judas was, in his turn, not defeated but overwhelmed by numbers in a battle near Panias, by Bacchides, who succeeded to Nicanor. In that fatal action, the leader of the Maccabees lost his life; a life most precious to the respectable portion of his nation, and lamented by all of that

⁸⁵ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 6

⁸⁶ Id. *ibid.*

⁸⁷ 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab.

c. xv.

description with heartfelt sorrow. His body was recovered by his brothers Jonathan and Simon, and by them interred at Modin⁸⁸, in the sepulchre of his ancestors. With universal approbation from the Maccabees, Jonathan assumed the office of general in the room of Judas; but the chance of war was against him; the faithful Israelites were compelled to fly, as formerly, to mountains and deserts; and were reduced to great weakness⁸⁹, when external events, deeply interesting to Syria, gave a new direction to the arms of that country.

Demetrius Soter, notwithstanding his assiduous courtship of the Romans, had hitherto failed to gain their good will. In return to an embassy that had been sent by Judas Maccabeus, the senate, shortly after the death of that illustrious patriot, and amidst the accumulating disasters of his party, contracted an alliance with the Maccabees, and promised to defend them against all their enemies⁹⁰. Under these circumstances it was time for Demetrius to look around him for confederates among the Greek kings of the east. Prusias II. of Bithynia, surnamed the hunter, was a prince wanting in dignity, and even destitute of good faith⁹¹; the respectable Eumenes II. of Pergamus, now in the extremity of old age, was the hereditary foe of the Seleucidæ. The king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philometer, had personal wrongs to complain of from the senate; but Egypt and Syria were rival kingdoms, and the former had acquired and maintained its equality only by truckling in mean submission to Rome. Demetrius, therefore, turned his eyes to Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia; a prince who had just mounted the throne, young, brave, and beloved by his subjects⁹², who, though noted for slow understandings, were not contemptible in numbers, nor deficient in that bodily vigour which forms good soldiers. To cement his friendship with Ariarathes, Demetrius sent to him a respectful embassy, offering him in

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State of the
eastern
kingdoms.
Olymp.
clv. 1.
B. C. 160.
Syria.

Bithynia
and Perga-
mus.

Egypt.

Cappado-
cia.

⁸⁸ Joseph. l. xii. c. 19. 1 Maccab. c. ix.

⁹¹ Appian. Mithridat. c. 2. & seq. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

⁸⁹ 1 Maccab. c. ix.

⁹² Diodor. Eclog. p. 518. & Ex-

⁹⁰ 1 Maccab. c. viii. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 3. cerpt. p. 581.

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marriage his sister Laodicè, the widow of Perseus king of Macedon. But this proposal Ariarathes rejected without hesitation, fearful of embroiling his affairs with Rome, to which power both the widow of Perseus and her brother seemed to be still obnoxious.

Artifices of
Antiochia,
wife to
Ariarathes
V.

Stung with this disappointment, which his pride construed into an affront, Demetrius was at no pains to conceal his fixed purpose of revenge, and very peculiar circumstances in the family of Ariarathes, enabled him speedily to gratify it. The father of that prince had espoused, as we have seen, Antiochia, daughter of Antiochus the Great, who, to conceal her barrenness, deceived her husband with several supposititious children, but at length producing a son of her own, confessed the fraudulent part hitherto acted by her, obtained pardon, and procured Ariarathes, her genuine offspring, to be declared successor to the throne. He, accordingly, ascended it; but to the high dissatisfaction of Orophernes, his counterfeit brother, who complained, that through the unnatural artifices of a woman unworthy of all credit, he had been deprived of his right of primogeniture. The sincere or well affected indignation of Orophernes might have evaporated in useless complaints in the soft climate of Ionia, into which, after the story of his birth became known, he had been sent by his father to reside; but the resentment expressed by Demetrius against the possessor of the Cappadocian throne, insured for a pretender to it a welcome reception in Syria.

Demetrius
expels
Ariarathes
and raises
Oropher-
nes to the
throne of
Cappado-
cia.
Olymp.
clv. 2.
B. C. 159.

Orophernes hastened to Antioch; explained his wrongs to Demetrius; the Syrian army on foot against Jerusalem, marched to Mazaca; the Cappadocians, partly deluded and partly defeated, threw down their arms; and, notwithstanding speedy assistance sent to Ariarathes by Eumenes of Pergamus, the former was driven from his kingdom⁹³, and sent to sue for aid to the Roman senate, the ordinary refuge of dispossessed princes.

⁹³ Polybius, l. iii. c. v. l. xxxii. c. 20. Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1. A

The fruitless aid given on this occasion by Eumenes, closed his reign of thirty-eight years. To the last, his exertions were always on the side of justice, by a uniform adherence to which, in a profligate age, and in the course of a long and busy life, he is more nobly distinguished, than by his memorable victories and splendid conquests. Though he had a son born to him in old age, he bequeathed the crown to his brother Attalus, who assumed, in gratitude, the title of Philadelphus; and after administering the kingdom for the space of twenty-one years, transmitted it to the son of Eumenes, named Attalus Philometer, the last and only unworthy king of Pergamus ⁹⁴.

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Eumenes
of Perga-
mus.
Olymp.
clv. 2.
B. C. 159.

The friendship of Eumenes was not calculated to serve the fugitive Ariarathes, in his application to Rome, since the former of these princes had of late years given many plain indications that he was no longer to be duped by the artifices under which the senate disguised its lust of universal empire.

The claims
of Ariara-
thes
neglected
at Rome.
Olymp.
clv. 3.
B. C. 158.

A splendid embassy from Orophernes, his presents, and promises, and flattery, countervailed the petitions of an abdicated king, low in circumstances and broken in spirit. All that the exiled Cappadocian could obtain was a decree appointing him to reign conjointly ⁹⁵ with his rival, a decree barren and nugatory, since, towards carrying it into effect, no levies were raised, nor any orders issued. The first gleam of hope to Ariarathes, darted from Cappadocia itself: and his most useful auxiliaries were the vices of his upstart adversary. Instead of atoning by merit for the defects in his title, Orophernes displayed the wanton effrontery of confirmed hereditary despotism. He trampled on the laws and rites of the Cappadocians, and introduced among that rustic and simple people Ionian effeminacy aggravated by bacchanalian intemperance ⁹⁶. His last and insufferable outrage was the plunder of the revered Cappadocian temple, at the foot of mount Ariadne. His enraged subjects took arms; Ariarathes, assisted by At-

The usurp-
er ruined
by his
vices, and
Ariarathes
restored.
Olymp.
clv. 4.
B. C. 157.

⁹⁴ Polybius, Conf. l. xxx. c. 2. l. xxxii. c. 23. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

⁹⁵ Appian. de Rebus Syriac. c. 47.

⁹⁶ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 20.

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talus of Pergamus, was at hand to avail himself of their insurrection: the usurper not daring to encounter them in battle, fled in precipitation to Antioch, having previously deposited four hundred talents of his ill gotten treasures in Prienè, a city of Ionia, long the place of his residence ⁹⁷.

Disgraceful
intrigues
and drunk-
enness of
Demetrius.
Olymp.
clvi. 1.
B. C. 156.

By flying to his Syrian ally, Orophernes gained safety for his person, but from the disposition in which he found Demetrius, little prospect was afforded to him of retrieving his affairs by means of that prince. Demetrius, though at peace with Egypt, had recently entered into a correspondence with Archias, governor of Cyprus for Ptolemy Philometer; and by a bribe of five hundred talents, had engaged him to make a treacherous surrender of the island. But the conspiracy was discovered, the traitor hanged himself ⁹⁸, and Demetrius incurred the mortification of losing at once a large sum of money, and all credit for good faith among his neighbours. To dispel the uneasiness occasioned by this disgrace, by the menaced hostility of Rome, and by misfortunes which, as we shall see, occurred in various parts of his empire, Demetrius indulged lavishly and habitually in the cordial which had soothed his early sufferings. To enjoy his drunken carousals unmolested by the intrusion of business, he built, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, a strong castle, fortified with four lofty towers, and shut himself up there with the companions of his revels, in careless oblivion of his crown and of his subjects ⁹⁹. In an age when kings, though seldom qualified to be their own ministers, were still obliged, according to the fashion of the times, to answer petitions, to judge causes, and to assist personally at other political functions, the total seclusion of Demetrius from affairs, could not be tolerated with patience. His subjects complained that they wanted the protection of government, and a conspiracy was formed against him, in which Orophernes had the baseness to join. But this treasonable design was seasonably discovered; and of all

His castle
of indolence.
Olymp.
clvi. 2.
B. C. 155.

⁹⁷ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 12.

⁹⁸ Id. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁹⁹ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 3.

Conf. Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 14. & Athenæus, l. x. p. 440.

those concerned in it, Orophernes alone escaped death, because his person still seemed of importance for embroiling, when occasion offered, the affairs of Cappadocia¹⁰⁰. Such an occasion, however, failed to present itself; for Ariarathes, remounting his throne, continued to reign seventeen years undisturbed by foreign war or domestic sedition, the friend of peaceful industry, and the only Cappadocian prince who is celebrated as a patron of useful learning and elegant arts, which he was careful to propagate among his hitherto obscure and unlettered countrymen¹⁰¹.

The danger which Demetrius had so narrowly escaped did not correct his errors. He still remained shut up in his castle, leaving a free and open field for the plots of domestic insurgents, and his many foreign enemies; Ptolemy Philometer, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Attalus of Pergamus, above all, Heraclides, the disgraced treasurer of Babylon. With this incensed subject, now residing at Rhodes, the three kings entered into a correspondence, and encouraged him to raise up a rival to Demetrius, who, through their assistance and the disgust of his Syrian subjects, might precipitate that prince from the throne. Heraclides, accordingly, discovered a Rhodian youth¹⁰² named Balas, that seemed well qualified to personate a deceased son of the late Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Balas was acknowledged in that character by the confederate kings. He was afterwards sent to Rome, and well received by the senate. Fortified by such authority, and accompanied by an armed force, he sailed to Ptolemais in Syria, to claim his father's kingdom. The danger roused Demetrius from his castle of indolence: he put himself at the head of his guards, but many of his best troops had already joined the invader. In this extremity he had recourse to Jonathan, captain of the Jews, who having recently defeated Bacchides the Syrian general in Palæstine, had obtained an honourable

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XXIII.

Peculiar
merit of
Ariarathes
VI.

Intrigues
by which
the impos-
tor Alexan-
der Balas
mounts the
throne of
Syria.
Olymp.
clvi. 3—
clvii. 1.
B. C. 154—
152.

Jonathan
created
highpriest
of the Jews.
Olymp.
clvi. 4.
B. C. 153.

¹⁰⁰ Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1.

¹⁰² Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 67.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus, Ecclog. iii. ex. l. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Athenæus, l. xxxi. p. 518.

v. p. 211.

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XXIII.

Death of
Demetrius
Soter.
Olymp.
clvii. 2.
B. C. 151.

peace for the Maccabees. But Balas, who had assumed the name of Alexander, also applied to the same chief for assistance, and obtained it by granting to him, in addition to his military command, the dignity of highpriest of the Jews¹⁰³: a dignity which continued in the Asmonæan family upwards of a century, until the bloody usurpation of Herod the Great. Alexander Balas, encouraged by such powerful foreign assistance, and good will of the Syrians themselves, hastened towards Antioch to encounter his adversary in battle. Fortune favoured him to the utmost of his wish, since Demetrius was defeated, put to flight, and, his horse plunging into a bog, intercepted and slain by his pursuers. He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign; leaving behind him two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, destined successively to fill his throne. These young princes owed their immediate safety to the precaution of sending¹⁰⁴ them, before the battle, to the free city of Cnidus on the coast of Caria: their enemies either knew not the place of their retreat, or attempted not to wrest them from it, in violation of the neutrality of that small but respectable commonwealth.

Infamy of
Alexander
Balas.
Olymp.
clvii. 3—
clviii. 2.
B. C. 150—
147.

To fortify himself in his newly acquired kingdom, Alexander Balas asked in marriage Cleopatra, daughter to Ptolemy Philometer. His request was granted, and Ptolemy, sailing to Ptolemais or Acre, honoured the nuptials with his presence¹⁰⁵. The espousal of this princess was the only prudent measure in Alexander's reign of four years, during which he exhibited the offensive follies of an upstart, intoxicated with prosperity totally unmerited. At length, committing the government to ministers who abused his power and flattered his passions, he abandoned himself to a life of unbounded voluptuousness: Cleopatra was neglected; instead of a haram filled with the humble concubines of the east, the court of Alexander was crowded with the ostentatious courtesans of Greece, whose accom-

¹⁰³ 1 Maccab. c. x. Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Justin, l. xxxv. c. 2.

¹⁰⁵ 1 Maccab. c. x.

plishments, by emblazoning his profligacy, rendered his disgrace the more conspicuous ¹⁰⁶.

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XXIII.

Meanwhile, Lesser Asia was disturbed by a long but obscure war between Prusias II. of Bithynia, and Attalus II. of Pergamus, which ended in the ruin of the former. This war, which dated from the first years of the reign of Attalus, and produced no decisive event, had been interrupted by the authority of Rome, the more friendly to the new king of Pergamus, because he had uniformly shown his devotion to the senate, even after his predecessor Eumenes had incurred suspicion. But Prusias, affecting to renounce force, had recourse to fraud. On pretence of adjusting differences still unsettled, he proposed a conference with Attalus on their common frontier, to which each prince should come, attended with a thousand horsemen. Attalus consented; and bringing with him only the stipulated escort, had nearly fallen into the snare laid for him, since Prusias was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the whole strength of his kingdom, both cavalry and infantry. With such preparations he made a sudden inroad into the territory of Pergamus; and though repelled from the walled cities, ravaged the open country, deformed the sacred groves, plundered the stations of traffic with their adjacent temples, after he had worshipped or rather insulted the gods to whom they were consecrated, with libations and sacrifices, and all the puerile rites of the most abject superstition. Attalus sent news to Rome of this unexpected outrage, at the same time that he adopted vigorous measures for resisting the invaders, and for retaliating their injuries. With the assistance of many allied commonwealths in his neighbourhood, he speedily equipped eighty decked vessels, and scoured the Bithynian coast in its whole extent from Heraclæa to the Thracian Bosphorus. Upon the arrival of Roman commissioners to settle the new disturbances in Asia, Prusias therefore showed great solicitude to obtain peace, by consenting to surrender twenty of his decked ves-

War between Prusias and Attalus. Olymp. clvi. 1—clviii. 1. B. C. 156—148.

¹⁰⁶ Justin, l. xxv. c. 2. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592. Athenæus, l. v. p. 210

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Prusias
conspires
the death
of his son
Nicomede-
des.

The plot
recoils on
himself,
and Nico-
medes II.
reigns.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

sels, to pay five hundred talents to Attalus, in atonement for his late depredations, and one hundred talents to the Greek cities in alliance with that prince. The terms were accepted; part of the fleet of Prusias became an accession to that of Attalus, and the debt was gradually discharged by annual instalments, as had been originally agreed on¹⁰⁷.

But no treaty could long bind the dishonest craft of Prusias. After the defeat of his brother-in-law Perseus of Macedon, he had assumed the Roman pileus in the manner of emancipated slaves, and using the appropriate legal term, called himself the freedman of the Romans¹⁰⁸. This servile adulation, though ridiculous to all around him, had a tendency to secure his territories from the grasp of the victorious republic. He was a buffoon, a traitor, and was prepared to become a parricide. His son Nicomedes having rendered himself obnoxious by his popularity, was sent to Rome, and soon followed by Menas, his father's ambassador, charged with the commission of assassinating Nicomedes, unless he obtained, through the influence of that young prince with the senate, a remission of the debt still due by Prusias to Attalus and his allies¹⁰⁹.

But for the execution of this execrable purpose, Prusias had employed an improper instrument. The behaviour and looks of Menas, when in the presence of Nicomedes, made the latter suspect that the former had some secret to reveal to him. An explanation was desired and granted; and it was agreed between the son of Prusias and his ambassador, that their king's execrable plot should be made to recoil on his own head. They admitted into their conspiracy Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to oppose any reduction in the sum due to him on the ground that it was a very scanty compensation for the damage which his territories had sustained. According to the plan concerted, these three persons left Rome separately, and sailed to Berenice, a well known harbour of Epirus,

¹⁰⁷ Appian. Mithridat. c. 3. ¹⁰⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 44. ¹⁰⁹ Appian. *ibid.* c. 4.

which they had chosen as the fittest rendezvous. In this seaport, Andronicus had five hundred soldiers, and Menas four times that number, for Prusias, aware of the commotions that might arise on the murder of Nicomedes, had furnished his ambassador with an extraordinary escort. On the morning after his arrival at Berenicè, Nicomedes disembarked from his vessel, clothed in purple, his head encircled with a diadem. He was met, according to concert, by Andronicus, who paid him the homage due to a king, and placed his soldiers as guards around him. Menas was then at hand to play his part in a drama, essential, as it seems, to the gaining over the two thousand Bithynians intrusted to him by Prusias. He pointed out to them Nicomedes invested with the robe of royalty. "We have now," he said, "two kings, and it behoves us well to consider to which of them it will be most prudent for us to adhere. This question, so important to our interest, will be best determined by examining which of them is most likely in the end to prevail. Nicomedes, the friend of the Romans is now abetted, as you see, by the troops of Attalus; a prince of the greater weight in this contest, because of his neighbourhood to Bithynia. In that country itself, young Nicomedes is esteemed and beloved, whereas the worthlessness of old Prusias is despised and detested; let us therefore espouse what is in every view the better party." At this proposal joy gleamed in the eyes of the Bithynians. Menas immediately conducted them to profess their allegiance to the new king, and to enrol themselves in the number of his guards. With followers thus hearty in his cause, Nicomedes again embarked, sailed to the coast of Pergamus, was cordially received by Attalus, and, being powerfully reinforced by that prince, entered Bithynia and made himself master of the kingdom¹⁰⁹. He reigned thirty-seven years, the second Bithynian king of the name of Nicomedes; and was succeeded by his son¹¹⁰ Nicomedes III. who died

¹⁰⁹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 4—6. *ὕψωρος*, grandson, viz. of Prusias, whose name has dropped from the

¹¹⁰ Appian calls Nicomedes III. manuscript.

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XXIII.

The follies
of Alexan-
der Balas
excite a re-
bellion in
Syria.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

Apollonius
the princi-
pal agent in
it—his mo-
tives.

seventy-five years before the christian era, bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans.

In the same year that king Prusias was deposed and murdered¹¹¹, the throne of Alexander Balas began to totter. His total neglect of government, the uncontrolled cruelty of his ministers, and his open ostentatious profligacy, rendered him the object not only of hatred but contempt; a passion still more dangerous to kings. Several of his governors and generals began therefore to turn their eyes towards the son of Demetrius Soter, who, in the late revolution, had escaped, as we have seen, to Cnidus, and in the first stage of manhood gave indications of an active and energetic character. Being provided with a large treasure, which had been sent with him to the place of his retreat, the young prince, named Demetrius from his father, and soon distinguished by the title of "Nicator" conqueror, hired a considerable body of troops, particularly in Crete, and passing from thence to Cilicia, raised a rebellion in that province. At the same time Appollonius, commanding in Cœle-Syria, openly revolted from Alexander Balas, to whose government he had never been well affected. This general was the son of that Apollonius who had been principal minister to Seleucus Philopater, and who in the following usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes, being driven in disgrace from Syria, had died in obscurity at Miletus. But the younger Apollonius followed the fortunes of Demetrius Soter, the son of his father's protector, remained with him during his residence at Rome, and was one of the eight Syrians of distinction who accompanied him from that capital, when he returned to take possession of his kingdom¹¹². Upon the restoration of his fellow emi-

¹¹¹ His forfeit life, loudly demanded by the Bithynian nation, was not to be saved by the protection of the most venerated temple in Nicomedia, nor by an embassy from Rome in his favour; an embassy which, Cato said, wanted head, feet,

and understanding, because it consisted of three persons, of whom one had his face hideously deformed by a wound; another walked lame, and the third was almost an idiot. Plutarch in Caton. Major.

¹¹² Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 19 & 21.

grant and patron, Apollonius was constituted governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and found means of continuing in that office notwithstanding the usurpation of Balas. But he only watched an opportunity for serving the house of his ancient master, and probably had a principal share in planning the enterprise which young Demetrius was now carrying into execution. That prince at least had no sooner appeared in Cilicia, than Apollonius declared himself of his party, and was successful in strengthening it by the concurrence of all the inferior commanders in those parts. Jonathan alone, who had been invested by Balas with the priesthood of Jerusalem, maintained his fidelity unshaken, manfully opposing Apollonius and the rebellion which he fomented¹¹³. In a battle which ensued between them in the land of the Philistines, the Jews prevailed; gained possession of Azotus, and burned to the ground that idolatrous city, with the temple of Dagon and his worshippers. Notwithstanding this success of Jonathan, rather honourable to himself than useful to his liege lord, the affairs of Balas continued rapidly to decline. At the first breaking out of the rebellion, he had shut himself up in Antioch, committing the government of that city, and the imperial district around it, into the hands of two generals, Diodatus and Hierax, subject however, to the control of Ammonius, his prime favourite and minister¹¹⁴.

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XXIII.

Jonathan
captain of
the Jews—
his grati-
tude and
fidelity.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

At the same time messages had been sent to his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometer, requesting the timely assistance of that prince in support of a throne, which by his aid chiefly had been established. Ptolemy, with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause, upon hearing how widely the flames of insurrection extended in Syria, entered that country with a powerful army, accompanied by a fleet not less formidable. The whole coast lay at his mercy, and he was ready to penetrate from Ptolemais into the inland country, when he discovered at that place a plot laid by Ammonius to take away

Ptolemy
Philometer
prepares to
defend Ba-
las.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

¹¹³ 1 Maccab. c. x. ¹¹⁴ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. 1. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2.

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XXIII.

Deserts
him on dis-
covering
the villany
of his
minister
Ammonius.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

Refuses the
crown of
Syria, and
determines
to reinstate
the rightful
heir.

his life. This execrable villain, judging of Ptolemy's character by his own, believed that the Egyptian king would not have entered Syria with such mighty preparations unless he had purposed to make conquests for himself. He therefore determined, by an act of real treachery, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude, to anticipate in another an imaginary breach of faith, which his own guilty suspicions had created. Ptolemy apprised his son-in-law of the crime that was about to have been committed, and denounced Ammonius as its author, not doubting but condign punishment would be inflicted on him. But Alexander, with an infatuation altogether unaccountable, determined to protect, at every hazard, this guilty favourite, and thereby afforded just reason for concluding that he himself participated in the guilt. Provoked at this conduct, Philometer advanced towards Antioch, and having drawn to him from that place his daughter Cleopatra, sent messengers to Demetrius, offering to conclude with him a treaty not only of peace but of marriage. Demetrius, thus finding an ally in the powerful invader who had come as an enemy, hastened to meet Ptolemy, and to make his acknowledgments for the high favours intended him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the Greek citizens of that place, who were most of them also soldiers, mutinied against the tyranny of Ammonius; and that minister, no less cowardly than cruel, was slain in woman's apparel, under which shameful disguise he had purposed to effect his escape. His master Alexander only avoided a similar fate by hastening into Cilicia, to put himself at the head of the troops who still made a stand for him in that part of the peninsula. Upon the flight of the usurper, the inhabitants of Antioch invited Ptolemy to mount the vacant throne; he was even compelled by their importunity to wear for a moment the double diadem of Egypt and Syria. But his strong sense of justice, the perfect disinterestedness of his nature, and his long habit of calmly looking into futurity, which taught him that the Romans would not view with compla-

cency this union of kingdoms, made him spare no pains to divest himself of too dangerous an accumulation of unjust and uncoveted honours. He assured the army and the people, that Demetrius, to whom he had married his daughter Cleopatra, was their legitimate sovereign. The injuries committed by them against the father of that prince, had been provoked by his own misconduct; but the son would forgive and forget them. Ptolemy also gave the strongest assurances that he would never cease his endeavours to render his son-in-law truly worthy of a crown; to guide, direct, and retain him in the path of his royal duties. He therefore conjured them to accept Demetrius for their sovereign, the kingdom of Egypt being quite sufficient for himself¹¹⁵. This generous proposal, urged with so much earnestness, was at length approved by the Antiochians, and the submission of the capital to Demetrius prepared the way for his acknowledgment in every part of the empire.

Alexander Balas, having joined his Cilician army, returned towards Antioch, to make one desperate effort for regaining the kingdom. Ptolemy and Demetrius hastened to encounter him; a sharp but unequal conflict ensued, in which Alexander, being put to the rout, escaped from the field with five hundred horsemen. Upon this victory Demetrius was saluted Nicator, the epithet which thenceforth distinguished him: and to complete his success, the head of Balas, who had fled to Zabdiel, an ally among the petty princes of Arabia, was brought to him five days after the battle¹¹⁶.

In this manner the crown of Syria passed from an unworthy to live, to a prince, as we shall soon see, undeserving to reign. The only important event in the revolution, was the death of Ptolemy Philometer, who, by the falling of his horse in the time of action, was exposed to the darts of the enemy, and received a dangerous wound¹¹⁷, which in

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XXIII.

Battle of
Antioch—
confirms
Demetrius
II. Nicator
in Syria.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

Death of
Ptolemy
Philometer
—his cha-
racter.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

¹¹⁵ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12. Joseph. rus Eclog ex l. xxxii. p. 519.

Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xi.

¹¹⁷ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751. Tit. Liv.

¹¹⁶ 1 Maccab. c. xi. and Diodo- Epitom. l. li.

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XXII.**

eight days terminated fatally, in the forty-second year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. While influenced by the eunuch Eulæus, the first stages of his administration betrayed irresolution and weakness; but his character improved in vigour without losing its native mildness; and, considering the times in which he lived, and the scenes that necessarily engaged him, he exhibited a singular pattern of moderation and justice, of winning condescension and indulgent benignity. Amidst governments prodigal of blood on the slightest ground of state policy, Philometer freely pardoned his worst enemies¹¹⁸; so that historians, too ready to estimate by political considerations only, the actions of kings, could ascribe to him no other fault but an excess of humanity.

The Jewish temple in Heliopolis. Olymp. clvii. 4. B. C. 149— to A. D. 75.

In the nineteenth year of Philometer's reign, a colony of Jews were established by him in the Egyptian nome Heliopolis, a district formerly possessed by their ancestors¹¹⁹. These Jews had accompanied Onias, son to the last high-priest of that name, who, indignant at the promotion of the unworthy Alcimus, to the highest dignity of his country, sought that justice from Philometer which had been denied him by Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, or rather by the corrupt ministers of that young prince. Philometer listened indulgently to the expatriated Jews, acknowledged Onias for their highpriest, and allowed them to build a temple in Egypt, somewhat smaller indeed, but agreeing in other respects with the temple in Jerusalem¹²⁰. The industry and adroitness of many belonging to the Jewish colony, were employed by him in offices of trust and honour¹²¹; and the Jews approved their gratitude by asserting against his unworthy brother Physcon, the right of inheritance in his infant son. But Physcon, as will be shewn, prevailed in the civil war; and his resumption of power was marked by signal vengeance on the Jews, in the district Heliopolis¹²². Notwithstanding this and subsequent per-

¹¹⁸ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

¹¹⁹ See above, vol. i. p. 96.

¹²⁰ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6.

¹²¹ Id. Cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365,

et seq.

¹²² Id. ibid. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 593.

secutions, these Jews continued to subsist with their national worship 220 years longer, until the emperor Vespasian commanded the demolition of their derivative or colonial temple: a mandate naturally connected with the destruction, only five years before, of the parent temple of Jerusalem; of the capital and government, and almost the nation of the Jews¹²³.

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¹²³ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 30.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Athenians renew their high Pretensions. Delos declared a free Port. Complaints of the Rhodians on that Subject. War of Oropus. Return of Greek Hostages from Rome. Intrigues of Menalcidas, Callicrates, and Dixus. War between the Achæans and Spartans. Rebellion in Macedon. Pretenders to that Kingdom. Roman Commissioners outraged in Corinth. Mummius Consul with Achaia for his Province. Battle of Scarphæa. Dixus' Skill in Faction and Ignorance in War. Battle of Corinth. The routed Achæans throw themselves into that City. Its Condition at that Time. Sack of Corinth. Achaia reduced into a Province. Public Services of Polybius.

CHAP.
XXIV.

Transition
to the
affairs of
the West.

THE accession of new kings in Syria and Egypt had been immediately preceded by the demolition of Carthage and Corinth, and the reduction of Africa and Achaia into the form of provinces. The operations terminating in these results, a rebellion in Macedon, and perpetual warfare in Spain and Liguria, had given for the space of twenty years sufficient occupation to Rome, and confined to negotiations and embassies her interference in the affairs of the great eastern continent. For the sake of perspicuity I have therefore examined apart the transactions in that quarter of the world: it is now necessary to resume the affairs of Greece and Macedon, intermediate countries, which experienced an important change of fortune, before the Romans again passed with armies into Asia.

The Athenians renew their high pretensions. Olymp. cliii. 3. B. C. 166.

Amidst the ruin of the Etolians and Epirots, and the humiliation of the Achæans and Rhodians, states that for nearly two centuries had acted very different indeed, but all of them most conspicuous parts, the Athenians began once more to appear in the front of the picture. Their

city, ennobled by unwithering renown in arms and liberty, still enjoyed the advantages that best console and compensate for the loss of the sterner virtues by which this renown was acquired. By the whole civilized world, the Athenians were acknowledged to be preeminent in arts and letters, of which the Romans well discerned the value, and especially in philosophy, not as now, a barren speculation, but of which one system or another, even at Rome itself, began to be adopted as a rule of life by all who coveted distinction or aspired to elegance. In addition to the high consideration derived from their literary merit, the people of Athens had uniformly cooperated with consuls and pretors from the moment that they carried their legions beyond the Hadriatic; feeble auxiliaries, indeed, in the field, but useful abettors in negotiation and intrigue, and heightening every other claim to favour by insinuating manners and skilful flattery. Accordingly, the year following the conquest of Macedon, and in the same year that a thousand principal Achæans were carried as hostages to Rome, the Athenians, presuming on the good will of their victorious allies, sent to request the senate that they might reinstate themselves in their ancient dominion over the isles of Imbros and Delos. The senate readily acceded to their wishes, only desiring that Delos, situate so conveniently in the midst of the Ægean, might be declared a free port, open to the traffic of all countries, and exempt from the imposition of port duties¹.

In this proposition, the Romans, who were never greatly distinguished by their encouragement of commerce, seem to have principally had in view the infliction of a new wound on the Rhodians. That this, at least, was its effect, appears from an embassy sent by that unhappy people in the following year, wherein they remonstrated with the Romans on the harshness of their proceedings towards an ally long treated by them with equal respect and affection. They lamented that, by the emancipation of the Carians and Lycians, they were depriv-

Delos declared a free port.

Remonstrances of the Rhodians on this subject. Olymp. cliii. 4. B. C. 165.

¹ Polybius, l. xxx. c. 5. 7. 18. l. xxxii. c. 17.

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ed of their possessions on the continent of Lesser Asia, and shut up within their narrow island incapable of maintaining the crowds of merchants and artificers by which it was inhabited. From two cities of Caria alone, Caunus and Stratoniceæ, they had derived an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents. But a far severer blow to their prosperity was the declaration that Delos should be a free port, which had drawn the whole commerce of the neighbourhood to that island, and greatly reduced the customs and port duties of Rhodes, so that imposts formerly exceeding a million of drachmas², would not now let for a sixth part of that sum. The ambassadors, then, in a more elevated tone, and rising above the mean concerns of trade and pecuniary interest, declared that all these were but secondary considerations, since the deepest and most heartfelt grievance was the degradation and degeneracy of Rhodes. "We no longer dare speak freely in our assemblies. Our thoughts must be carefully weighed, and our expressions nicely selected. Not a word must escape us, that, by any latitude of acceptation, can be perversely construed into disrespect for the majesty of Rome. We lament, therefore, O senators! the loss of that happy constitution of government, and that bold independence of mind, from which the arts, the commerce, the navigation, and all the prosperity of Rhodes, originally flowed, and by which they were immemorially upheld." Notwithstanding these animated remonstrances, the ambassadors, mindful of their instructions, desired the name of ally for their country; a point essential to the prevention of greater calamities that perhaps yet awaited them, even the usurpation of their island and the demolition of their capital. For upwards of a century, they had been approved friends to the Romans, but never till now desired to be their allies. They well knew the burthens imposed by that title; but the care of their immediate safety made them regardless of remote and contingent evils. Humble as their request was, the senate

² A drachma is valued at 7 pence 3 farthings.

did not soon or easily grant it: many friends to their island sued for them in vain: at length a decree establishing amity and alliance with the Rhodians was passed at the pressing instances of Tiberius Gracchus³, father to the farfamed tribunes, Tiberius and Caius, and himself of a character that needed not the aid of faction to amplify and emblazon it.

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Shortly after this transaction, the Athenians, still presuming on the same favour with the great western republic, turned their views of aggrandizement towards Bœotia, a country highly obnoxious, since the cruelties⁴ committed on Roman citizens in the neighbourhood of the lake Copais. Not only the dominion, but the property of Haliartus, a city on that lake, had been the object of a petition from Athens; but the demand, impudent in the extreme, had been denied by the modesty or policy of the senate. Without the formality of new embassies and requests, the Athenians ventured to commit depredations on the Bœotian frontier, particularly in the district Oropus: the Oropians complained to Rome; and the senate decreed that the ancient and venerable community of Sicyon should estimate the damage, and fix the pecuniary compensation. Still confident in their Roman protectors, the Athenians absented themselves on the day of trial: the Sicyonians, however, proceeding to business with impartial firmness, awarded a fine of five hundred talents. Instead of preparing to make payment of this sum, or offering the smallest apology for their delay, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, composed of three persons, whose credit they thought would have resistless weight. They consisted of Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades⁵; respectively the heads of the Peripatetic, Stoic, and Academic schools. These philosophers were heard with equal admiration in public assemblies and in private circles. Senators of great eminence read, admired, and translated their discourses; the young Romans, smit with an enthusiasm for letters and eloquence, felt a new

The Athenians seize Oropus—their philosophic embassy to excuse it. Olymp. clv. 2. B. C. 155.

Their success at Rome.

³ Polybius, l. xxx. c. 1 l. xxxi. c. 7.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, l. vii. c. 14.

⁴ See above.

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rival in their breasts to the love of military glory: Cato alone opposed the general torrent: as yet, he despised Greek literature, in which he afterwards became a student; he was unfriendly to innovation in matters of civil polity; and he feared lest the respect acquired by Greek teachers might interfere with that exclusive veneration due to Roman magistrates⁶. At his earnest intreaty a day was at length fixed for giving an audience of leave to the ambassadors. They returned to Athens, after prevailing in one of the worst of causes: so that the success of his embassy illustrates the high eulogy of Carneades, "that he never maintained a position which he did not establish, nor assail an argument which he did not overthrow⁷."

Menalcidas
and Callicrates
bribed by
the Oropians to
procure them
assistance.
Olymp.
clvi. 4.
B. C. 153.

Encouraged by this decision of Rome, the Athenians, upon an ancient claim of sovereignty, threw a garrison into the city Oropus. Their garrison maltreated the citizens. The Oropians complained to the Achæan league, then comprehending all the states of Peloponnesus, although several of them had associated reluctantly, particularly Sparta. It happened, however, that the Spartan Menalcidas⁸, a profligate and corrupt man, was then pretor of Achaia; and, as the diet of that country, out of respect for the Athenians, or rather for their Roman protectors, showed unwillingness to interfere in behalf of the Oropians, that unfortunate people bribed Menalcidas with the promise of ten talents, on condition that he obtained for them the protection of Achaia against the crying injustice of Athens. Menalcidas, to gain the bribe, readily agreed to the condition, but doubted his own ability to fulfil it. He therefore applied to Callicrates, a man corrupt like himself, long the most conspicuous partisan of the Romans, and thereby as powerful with one portion of his fellow citizens, as he was odious to the other. Many years before this intrigue, upon the failure of an application for the release of their hostages in Italy, the patriots of Achaia testified the

⁶ Plutarch in Caton. Major.

⁸ Pausanias Achaic. c. 11.

⁷ Cicero de Orator. I. ii. c. 38.

utmost resentment against the traitor Callicrates, and his co-adjutor Andronidas. Their names were branded with infamy in the public assembly; even boys, in their way to school, accosted them with reproaches; they were the objects of hisses and execration to the multitude; and during a festival in Sicyon, celebrated in honour of Antigonus Doson, an illustrious protector of the rising fortunes of Achaia, none of the actors or spectators at this national solemnity would use the baths frequented by Callicrates and Andronidas, until they had been carefully purged from the taint of impure contact with such abominable offenders against the sacred liberties of their country⁹. At length, in consequence of repeated embassies from the Achæans, and through the authority of Polybius, with his pupil and friend the younger Scipio, and the influence of Scipio with Cato the censor, the Achæan exiles, reduced from one thousand below the number of three hundred, were allowed to return home, after a captivity of seventeen years¹⁰. This incident had a tendency to dissipate the popular odium against Rome and her partisans; and Callicrates, whose credit was unrivalled with one party, grew an object of less abhorrence to the other. He consented to partake in the Oropian bribe to Menalcidas, and agreed to aid him in procuring a decree of the Achæan diet for assisting Oropus against Athens¹¹.

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Return of
the surviv-
ing Greek
hostages
from
Rome.
Olymp.
clvii. 2.
B. C. 151.

This decree was obtained; but, before any measures had been taken for rendering it effectual, the Athenians, apprised of the intrigue, marched against Oropus, and joined, to their former depredations on the territory, the sack of the city itself. Menalcidas and Callicrates, in order to revenge this injury, recommended an immediate invasion of Attica. But they could not prevail with the diet, the deputies from many

Discord be-
tween Me-
nalcides
and Calli-
crates—
The former
saved by
Dædus a
third traitor.

⁹ Polybius, l. xxx. c. 20.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Caton. Major. & Polybius, l. xxxv. c. 6. The selfish policy of Rome began about this time to be the object of satire with the honest part of her own citizens. When the Greeks, after obtaining leave to quit Italy, requested Cato's

intercession for other favours, he said to Polybius, the bearer of this request "you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. Why would you go back to the den of the Cyclops in quest of your belt and helmet?"

¹¹ Pausanias, *ibid.*

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states, and especially the Spartans, fellow citizens of Menalcidas, strongly opposing men, who, they knew, were bent on pursuing their own vile interests through the dangers and blood of their country. Menalcidas meanwhile having obtained his ten talents from the Oropians, refused to share these wages of iniquity with his coadjutor Callicrates. The latter, provoked at having thus incurred, without pecuniary benefit, the resentment of the Athenians, and thereby risked his interest with Rome, watched an opportunity for revenge; and at the expiration of Menalcidas' pretorship, accused him capitally before the diet; the main article against him being his secret mission to Rome, with a view to procure the separation of Sparta from the Achæan league. On this emergency, Menalcidas applied to Diæus, his successor in office, and with the money which he should have paid to Callicrates, bribed this new traitor to save him from the hands of justice. Diæus, by availing himself of the intricacy of forms, the ambiguity of some legal terms, and the undue ascendancy which presiding magistrates too frequently exercised in Grecian tribunals, snatched Menalcidas from the condemnation which he justly merited: but his artifices for this unfair purpose were detected, exposed, and reprobated; and in order to divert the storm ready to burst on him, the pretor saw the necessity of finding for the multitude, some new employment at once important to their interests and gratifying to their passions¹².

Diæus selfishly involves the Achæans in a municipal dispute with Sparta. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

Sparta, notwithstanding the bloody seditions which had crowded it with slaves instead of citizens, still contained some portion of its ancient materials, the ferment of which agitated and gradually assimilated the mass. It had entered by compulsion into the Achæan league; its pride was much hurt at being levelled with the inferior cities of Peloponnesus; and, by an application to Rome, it had obtained an exemption in criminal matters from those popular tribunals to which other states in the confederacy were amenable. Diæus contended

¹² Pausanias Achaic. c. 12.

that this exemption, unreasonable in itself, had never been confirmed by the senate; and encouraged his countrymen to exercise the jurisdiction which of right belonged to them, over the persons as well as property of treacherous friends, now more formidable than when they were open enemies. The multitude, ever greedy of power, began their impeachments of such Lacedæmonians as were obnoxious to them: on which infraction of the terms of the confederacy, the Spartans prepared to send an embassy to Rome; but the Achæans opposed to this design a law, forbidding any Achæan state to employ foreign agents or ambassadors without the general consent of the league¹³.

In this state of affairs, both parties foresaw the necessity of having recourse to arms; but the Spartans, as weaker in power, solicited privately several Achæan cities, reluctant confederates like themselves, and even Diæus, the actual general of the league, to interpose their good offices to prevent an immediate rupture. The states to which they applied, answered that they could not refuse sending their troops into the field, whenever the pretor of Achaia displayed his standard; and Diæus declared, on his part, that though he wished not to make war on Sparta, he had determined to punish some offenders belonging to that city, notorious disturbers of the public peace. The Lacedæmonian magistrates demanded that these offenders should be named to them. Diæus named twenty-four persons, men of principal note in the commonwealth. On this occasion, Agasisthenes increased his reputation, already great at Sparta, by prevailing on the persons denounced to go into voluntary banishment to Rome, rather than furnish a pretext for an hostile invasion of their country. They had no sooner taken their departure than the Achæans condemned them to death; and sent Diæus, whose pretorship had just expired, together with Callicrates, to demand them as criminals from the senate. In that assembly Diæus, his

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Violent
proceed-
ings against
Sparta.

¹³ Pausanias, *ibid.*

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Shameful
altercation
of Menal-
cidas and
Diæus in
the Roman
senate.

colleague Callicrates dying on the passage, was confronted with Menalcidas, his former accomplice in villany, but now commissioned by the Spartans to expose his machinations. In full senate, these unworthy ambassadors insulted each other with the utmost indecency of language. Their statements of facts were altogether contradictory, and the asseverations of the one were opposed by contrary oaths of the other. The senate imposed silence on both, and intimated its design of sending commissioners into Greece, who, having obtained due information on the spot, might make a fair adjustment of the difference. Before the appointment, however, of these commissioners, Diæus and Menalcidas hastily departed, and each with equal audacity assured his fellow citizens that he had fully succeeded in his business at Rome; Diæus affirming that the Lacedæmonians were in all cases alike, to be amenable to Achæan tribunals, and Menalcidas asserting that in no case whatever were the Achæans to exercise any jurisdiction over Sparta, which was in future to be totally separated from their league¹⁴.

Fruitless
campaign
of Damo-
critus
against
Sparta.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

In consequence of the falsehood maintained by Diæus, his countrymen prepared to take the field under Damocritus, their new pretor. In their march towards the frontier of Laconia, they were overtaken by some Romans then going into Asia, on a business which will be explained presently, who desired them to suspend their hostilities, and to wait the arrival of commissioners, already on their way from the senate. Neither the Achæans, nor their general, regarded this admonition; they advanced towards Laconia, while the Romans pursued their journey to the East. By this time the Spartans had taken the best measures in their power for repelling the invaders. But a battle ensued on their frontiers, in which, after the loss of a thousand brave youths, still animated by the example of better times, they were driven from the field, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of their capital. Damocritus, the Achæan pretor, had he acted with

¹⁴ Id. *ibid.*

proper spirit, might have intercepted their retreat, or entered the place with the fugitives. The suspicion of treachery incurred by his remissness, seemed to be confirmed by his subsequent proceedings. No vigorous measures were adopted against the city itself; fruitless depredations on the territory occupied Damocritus during the remaining month of his pretorship. At the expiration, therefore, of his office, he was accused, found guilty, and amerced of sixty talents; and being unable to pay this fine, avoided personal punishment by banishing himself from Peloponnesus¹⁵.

Diaëus, the head of the popular party, was chosen to succeed Damocritus. This was the second time he had been elected pretor, and as such intrusted with the command of the Achæan army. He would have prosecuted the war with eagerness, but his hands were for six months tied up in consequence of the following emergency. The Romans who, on their mission into Asia, recently interposed their endeavours to make peace, had been sent by the senate to tranquillize the confederates on that continent, and to keep them steady in their affections, amidst great disturbances that had arisen on the neighbouring shores of Macedon. The harsh conditions imposed on that country by Rome, and the severity increasing from year to year with which these conditions were exacted, revived in the Macedonians the sentiments of their ancient loyalty. They sighed for their fair form of hereditary monarchy, where kings, limited by law, might assert national independence, and protect the different orders of the state against mutual injuries or insults. In this state of the public mind, a certain Andriscus, of Adramyttium in Troas, probably instigated by a party in Macedon itself, appeared in the courts of Asia, giving himself out for the still surviving son of the late Macedonian king Perseus. In Syria, however, the impostor was seized by order of Demetrius Soter, who, to gain favour with the senate, sent him well guarded to

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Rebellion
in Mace-
don—
Pseudo-
Philippus.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

¹⁵ Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

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He defeats
the Ro-
mans un-
der Juven-
tius
'Thalna.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

Rome. But amidst the preparations for the third Punic war, Andriscus found means to escape from Italy, landed safely in Macedon, was welcomed by numerous partisans; the cities opened their gates; and the fortunate adventurer, under the name of Philip IV. usurped a crown which, he pretended, of right belonged to him. The Romans, intent on combating, not the power, but the despair of Carthage¹⁶, were satisfied to oppose this insurrection, by despatching across the Hadriatic Scipio Nasica, who having summoned to his standard the allies in Greece, with difficulty restrained Philip from making incursions into Thessaly. In consequence of the report made by Scipio, the senate committed a small army to Juventius Thalna, who having landed on the Macedonian frontier, hastened to enter that country, and to pull Pseudo-Philippus, that king of the stage, as he called him, from the upstart throne which he had so insolently erected. But Thalna's own insolence exposed him to such fatal disgrace as generally results from contempt of an enemy. As he advanced into Macedon without due precaution, he was encountered and cut off with almost the whole of the troops which he commanded¹⁷.

Is defeated
by Metel-
lus, and de-
livered to
him.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

To repair this misfortune, the Romans expeditiously levied a consular army, for their citizens at this time amounted to 322,000 men liable to military service¹⁸. The two legions, with their auxiliaries, were commanded by the pretor Cæcilius Metellus, and in consequence of the mission into Asia above mentioned, Attalus II. of Pergamus equipped a considerable fleet to cooperate with his Roman allies. Upon arriving in his province, Metellus acted with that mixture of activity and caution which becomes a great general. While he adopted proper measures for quelling the rebellion in Macedon, he found time for attending to the latent disaffection in Greece, and by his order the Roman ambassadors destined for Asia had endeavoured, in their way thither, to stop the progress

¹⁶ Polybius, l. xxxix. Tit. Liv. Velleius, l. ii. Florus, ii. 14. Oros. Epitom. l. xlix. & seq. Plutarch in iv. 22.
Caton. Major.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. 1. Zonaras & Tab. Capitolin.

¹⁸ Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xvii. c. 25.

of Damocritus in an expedition, which, as we have seen, proved highly disgraceful to himself. In the interval of time between this fruitless application to Damocritus and the second pretorship of Diæus, Metellus, in two bloody engagements, totally defeated the unworthy usurper in Macedon; for Andriscus, elated by the first success of his arms against Juventius Thalna, began, as if his power had thereby become impregnable, to indulge his odious propensities to rapacity and cruelty¹⁹. His instruments were fierce Thracians, who flocked to him for booty; but when he was worsted by Metellus, first in the neighbourhood of Pydna, and afterwards on the frontiers of Thrace, the fickle barbarians of that country showed that they were allies only to his good fortune; and Byras, one of their chieftains with whom he sought refuge, made his own peace by surrendering his suppliant to the Roman general²⁰. In this posture of affairs, Metellus sent a message to Diæus, commanding him to suspend hostilities with Sparta. Diæus obeyed, and a truce was concluded between the Achæans and Spartans, until commissioners should arrive from Rome to adjust their differences.

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A truce between the Achæans and Spartans.

But in agreeing to this arrangement, neither party was sincere. As Metellus prolonged his stay in Macedon, in consequence of events which will presently be related, Diæus applied to several subordinate allies in Laconia: exasperated their natural hatred against a proud, imperious capital; and prevailed on them to admit secretly, considerable bodies of Achæan troops, by means of which, when a fit opportunity offered, he might renew hostilities suddenly, and with decisive effect. But his rival Menalcidas, being raised to the generalship of Sparta, anticipated his perfidious designs, and persuaded the Spartans to commit the first infraction of the treaty. At his instigation they surprised and plundered Iasus, a Lacedæmonian city, zealous for the Achæan league;

Infringed at the persuasion of Menalcidas: Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

¹⁹ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 590.

Eutropius et Valer. Maxim. vii. 5.

²⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. li. Zonaras,

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He drinks
poison.

Proceed-
ings of the
Roman
commis-
sioners at
Corinth—
outrages
committed
there.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

but had no sooner perpetrated this crime, than they began to view with terror the punishment to which it exposed them.

With regard both to men and money, they were far inferior to the enemy: the outrage of which they had been guilty must alienate their Roman protectors; they were ashamed at yielding rashly to the mad counsels of Menalcidas, who, finding himself the object of general execration, had recourse to a dose of poison to elude public vengeance²¹. This wretched man who came to so wretched an end, had held the first rank in two, once illustrious, states; he thus had full scope for exhibiting his worthlessness; a contemptible general of Sparta, a profligate pretor of Achaia.

Meanwhile, the commissioners expected from Rome, arrived in Peloponnesus, headed by Aurelius Orestes. The magistrates of the Achæan states gave them a meeting at Corinth, to which place many deputies and many private persons proceeded, anxious to hear the decision of the great political cause by which Greece had been so long agitated. The persons bearing office in the different cities of Achaia assembled in the house that had been assigned, by public authority, for the reception of the Roman commissioners. There, Aurelius addressed them in a studied oration, expatiating on the good offices of Rome towards Achaia, and the sincere desire of his country to maintain its amicable relations with that confederacy. But, from the perpetual dissensions that arose among ill assorted members of the league, there was a clear proof that it had been too widely extended, and that communities had been reduced under one government, whose tempers, manners, and municipal laws, rendered them unfit for any such intimate union. On this account, the happiness of Greece required that not only Lacedæmon, but Heraclæa, a colony of that city at the foot of mount Œta, that Argos, Orchomenos, recently joined to Achaia, and even Corinth itself, should thenceforth form republics apart. Without waiting for the conclusion of his discourse, Diæus

²¹ Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

and the other Achæan magistrates abruptly took their departure, and rushing into the streets, summoned to an assembly all their fellow citizens of every description in Corinth. The purport of Aurelius' speech, when communicated to the multitude, provoked it to the utmost fury. The Lacedæmonians, as original authors of animosities likely to prove so fatal, were seized, buffeted, and subjected to every insult: all suspected to belong to that nation, by their long hair, the peculiar form of their garments, or even by their bare names, suffered the same outrages. The residence of the Roman commissioners, to which many fled for refuge, afforded not protection. The Romans themselves thought fit to consult their safety by flight; and such was the blindness of popular rage, that, when the tumult ceased, it was discovered that many persons belonging to other communities had been, through mistake, seized and maltreated as Lacedæmonians. These were set at liberty: the Lacedæmonians were detained in prison²².

Soon after this transaction the pretorship of Diæus expired, and he was succeeded by Critolaus, a man equally turbulent and equally profligate, and still more execrably ambitious, since he burned with desire to grasp into his own hands the whole power and patronage of his country, by involving her in a war to which neither experience nor reason promised a favourable issue. For this purpose, when new commissioners arrived from Rome, Critolaus indeed met them at Ægium, and agreed to summon a diet of the Achæans at Tegea. He even sent public orders to the several states for this purpose, but privately intimated to them his wish that those orders should not be obeyed. Accordingly, Sextus Julius and the other Romans, after long waiting at Tegea, were joined by Critolaus alone: he expressed his regret to them, that the deputies of the states, without whose presence no business could be done, had declined giving their attendance; but the regular meeting of the diet, he said, would

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New com-
missioners
from Rome.

Trifled
with and
provoked
by the
Achæan
pretor.

²² Pausanias Achaic. c. 14. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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happen in the course of six months, at which time all differences might be adjusted. Thus treated with derision, the Romans hastened homeward; they had come to Peloponnesus with pacific intentions, and having met on their way Theridas, commissioned by Achaia to the senate, with a view to extenuate the outrage recently committed at Corinth, they had brought him back with them to Ægium; and had there declared to this ambassador, to Critolaus, and the other principal magistrates of Achaia, that the senate had an earnest desire of keeping on good terms with their league, and would, on security being given for better behaviour in future, forget and forgive past injuries: but they returned to Rome, breathing very different sentiments²³. The Romans accordingly elected consul, with Achaia for his province, Lucius Mummius, an experienced but rough soldier, careless of the arts and literature of the Greeks, of which he was grossly ignorant, and who seemed on this account the better calculated to be the executioner of vengeance on that people²⁴.

Mummius
consul with
Achaia for
his pro-
vince.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

The Pseu-
do-Alex-
ander in
Macedon
defeated
by Metel-
lus.

But before Mummius transported his legions across the Hadriatic, the war began from another quarter. Metellus had hitherto been prevented from seconding his embassies by arms, in consequence of a second insurrection in Macedon, raised by a new impostor who succeeded to the pretensions of Andriscus. He made his stand on the eastern frontier of the kingdom, near the river Nessus, assuming the name of Alexander, as his precursor had usurped that of Philip; names which revived in the loyal Macedonians the remembrance of their ancient glory. Metellus followed him thither, defeated him in battle, dispersed his unhappy followers, but failed in his attempt to seize the person of the pretender, who escaped through the swiftness of his flight across the intricacies of mount Rhodopè, to the barbarous district of Dardania. After thus removing every obstacle to

²³ Polybius, l. xxxviii. Pausanias
Achaic. c. 14.

Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4. Florus, l. ii. c. 16.
Velleius, l. i. c. 13.

²⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 381.

the reduction of Macedon into the form of a province, Metellus renewed his attention to the affairs of Achaia²⁵. CHAP.
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Critolaus, he found, had succeeded in rousing his countrymen to arms against Sparta, and against Rome itself, if she thought fit to espouse the Spartan cause. By procuring a law, that no debts should be recoverable until the end of the year, that demagogue had gained all the needy and profligate to his party. With an address still more refined, he had confounded in one class all those who deprecated a war, which their country was totally unable to support, with Callicrates, Andronidas, and other vile flatterers of the Roman power: men contemptible in life, and whose memories were still the objects of public execration. Through such base but too ordinary artifices, he had obtained a complete ascendancy in the Achæan councils, when Metellus, who was in a situation to march with a powerful detachment from Macedon, sent a new embassy to Corinth, hoping to terminate the dissensions in Greece by the mere terror of his arms. Cneius Papirius, with three other illustrious Romans, explained the object of their commission to the Achæan deputies assembled in that city. They spoke in the same moderate language that had been recently held by Sextus Julius at Ægium, and conjured the Achæans not to persist in measures which must forfeit the friendship of Rome, essentially useful to their country. By the deputies and still more by the surrounding crowd of mechanics and manufacturers, in which Corinth then abounded above all other cities, the modest expressions of the ambassadors were construed into symptoms of weakness or fear. Their own courage took fire, and vented itself in noisy clamour and petulant scurrility. The Romans, after suffering viler insults than those lately heaped on Aurelius Orestes in the same city, escaped in different directions to Lacedæmon, Naupactus, and Athens²⁶.

His overtures rejected by the Achæans. Olymp. clviii. 8. B. C. 146.

²⁵ Eutrop. cum Græc. Pzan. Metellus. aph. p. 89. Zonaras, Velleius, Florus.

²⁶ Pausanias, *ibid*.

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Their
cause abet-
ted only by
the Bœo-
tians and
Chalcians.

Having thus obstructed every avenue to reconciliation, Critolaus summoned the Achæans to arms. He flattered them with the assistance of many republics beyond Peloponnesus, and even of many kings. But the Bœotians and Chalcians alone appeared zealous in his cause. The former, as we have seen, had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to Rome, and their principal magistrate at this time was one Pytheas, whose youth, spent in abominable profligacy, had prepared his old age for relishing the bloody amusements of sedition²⁷. Chalcis in Eubœa, again, continued still to retain the leaven of ancient hatred. It had served as the main arsenal of Philip in all his wars with the Romans.

Battle of
Scarphæa.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

Critolaus, with a numerous army from various cities of Peloponnesus, issued from the isthmus of Corinth, passed through Bœotia, and attacked Heraclæa at the foot of mount Ceta, a colony, as above observed, of Lacedæmon, and which, in imitation of its metropolis, had separated from the Achæan league. The siege of Heraclæa was commenced with vigour, but had not been long carried on, when news arrived that Metellus was marching through Thessaly. It was soon after known, that he had passed the Sperchius, which flows into the Malian gulph, about twelve miles from the straits of Thermopylæ. This was sacred ground, on which the Spartans had resisted the Persians, and on which, even in the declining age of Greece, the Athenians had repelled the Gauls. But Critolaus, instead of being encouraged by the inspiring scenery around him, hastily raised the siege of Heraclæa, and leaving the straits of Thermopylæ open, retreated southward through Locris. In that district, he was overtaken near Scarphæa by the Romans, and defeated with great slaughter. Above a thousand of his unhappy followers were made prisoners; nearly an equal number of Arcadians fled towards Bœotia, hotly pursued by the victors. Two reports prevailed concerning the death of Critolaus. It was said, that driven to despair by seeing the effects of his rash

²⁷ Polybius, l. xl. c. 1.

counsels, he had destroyed himself by poison. But, as his body was no where to be discovered, it is more probable that in attempting his escape, he sunk in the marine marsh between the Malian gulph and the roots of mount Œta. The flying Arcadians were intercepted by Metellus in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa, and intirely cut to pieces²⁸. CHAP.
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These repeated disasters did not terminate the war. Upon the death of a pretor in office, his place was, according to the Achæan laws, to be supplied by his immediate predecessor. Diæus thus obtained, for the third time, the command of his countrymen, and kept alive in them the frantic passions which he had originally helped to inspire. Many, who well foresaw the sad catastrophe at hand, were yet carried along by the torrent, and augmented its force. The whole of the men and money in Peloponnesus was put at the disposal of the Achæan pretor; the slaves, fit for war, were emancipated and armed; the women divested themselves, and even their young children, of their ornaments, to supply the exigencies of the public service; and, under the pressure of immediate hardships, unexampled privations, and intolerable exertions, the greater part lost sight of the fatal end in which all these voluntary sufferings were likely to terminate. The unskilfulness of Diæus, as a general, gave the finishing to his pernicious character. Although his army assembled at the isthmus of Corinth, fell short, even in point of number, of thirty thousand Romans, with whom he would have to contend, he absurdly weakened it by sending a detachment to defend the intermediate city Megara. Meanwhile, the enemy advanced from Cheronæa towards Thebes, and found the latter place reduced to a desert. Its citizens, fit to bear arms, had perished in the battle of Scarphæa; and their kinsmen, dreading the approach of the Romans, had fled in trepidation with their families and most precious effects. Metellus disdained to wreak vengeance on the aged and infirm, or the wretched

Diæus a
third time
pretor—
his address
in faction
and inability
in war.

²⁸ Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Pausanias, Achaic. c. 15.

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children abandoned to their feeble care. He desired even to spare the fugitives, and ordered his pursuers to make diligent search only for the seditious Pytheas, the main author of the calamities of Thebes. This wretch, the fit coadjutor of Diæus, escaped into Peloponnesus, but, being finally taken, suffered the punishment due to his crimes both as a magistrate and as a man. From Thebes, where the Roman soldiers were restrained from violence or plunder, Metellus proceeded towards Megara, the Achæans who guarded that city flying before him to the isthmus. But the terror which they carried with them there, did not alter the mind of Diæus and his adherents; who treated with scorn new messengers of peace whom Metellus, eager to finish the war, yet thought proper to send to them. On this occasion those unhappy Achæans, who had been compelled to bear arms in a cause which they deemed desperate, had the courage to make one last effort for changing the mad purposes of their countrymen. For this presumption they were arraigned as traitors; and as such, many of them suffered the cruellest and most disgraceful punishments. Those only escaped death, who had money enough to bribe Diæus; for such is the force of habit, that even on the edge of the precipice to which he had brought himself and his country, this wretched man continued as greedy as ever after the wages of iniquity²⁹.

Strange enthusiasm and unhappy delusions of the Achæans.

After suppressing this feeble opposition, the artifices of the Achæan chiefs operating on the enthusiasm of the assembled multitude, kept the passions of both soldiers and citizens, and all descriptions of persons in Corinth, in one and the same fatal direction; all disdained the equitable accommodation offered to them, and all panted with joy at the thoughts of encountering and vanquishing the enemy. But at a distance from this center of rebellion, there prevailed great differences in opinion. The Elians and Messenians, living along the seacoast of Peloponnesus, fancied every moment that they perceived the combined fleets of king Attalus and the Romans, ready to descend

²⁹ Pausanias, *ibid.* Polybius, l. xl. c. 2. & seq.

in vengeance on their defenceless shores. The small communities of Dymè, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, which formed the original germ of the Achæan league, and were ever foremost in promoting the interests of civil liberty and political independence, had lost all their bravest youths in the bloody battle of Scarp hæa. This dreadful misfortune so recently sustained, filled them with deep anxiety and melancholy forebodings. They accused each other as the authors of the calamity that had happened, and of still severer evils that inevitably awaited them. Under this paroxysm of despair, many fled from their habitations, wandering they knew not whither: some went forth as if to denounce the enemies of Rome; others assumed branches of supplicatory olive, to appease the conquerors; though no Romans were at hand, either to hear accusations or to receive petitions; and others, still more felly frantic, became their own executioners, drowning themselves in wells, or throwing themselves from precipices. The greatest enemy of Greece must have melted in pity at such miserable infatuation and such horrid sufferings, especially of the Peloponnesians, a people actuated by the mild as well as manly virtues, and singularly adapted to the enjoyment of rural life in all its loveliness of contentment and innocence³⁰.

Meanwhile Mummius' fleet, accompanied by that of king Attalus, landed in the Crissæan gulph. His army amounted to twenty-three thousand infantry, with the ordinary proportion of horse, besides a body of Cretan archers, and a considerable reinforcement of Pergamenians, commanded by a general named Philopœmen; a name once connected with the meridian glory of Achaia, and now to be associated with the eternal sunset of that confederacy.

The first measure of the consul, even before his whole forces had joined him at the isthmus, was to order Metellus back into Macedon with the troops which he commanded. He then advanced within the isthmus, and encamped near a place

Junction of
the Roman
forces
under
Mummius
with those
of king
Attalus.

Battle of
Corinth.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

³⁰ Conf. Polybius, l. xl. c. 3. and l. v. c. 106

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called Leucopetra, and the pine tree grove of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, where the strait, fifteen miles in length, contracts to five miles in breadth, again opening as you approach Corinth and the immediate entrance into Peloponnesus. From his camp, Mummius sent forward a small party of auxiliaries, who, forming an advanced guard, might watch the motions of the enemy. But this duty was so carelessly performed, that the Achæans issued suddenly from Corinth, surprised the auxiliaries now posted a mile and a half before the Roman encampment, and carried back with them five hundred shields as trophies of their victory. Upon this slight advantage, the furious courage of the Achæans blazed more fiercely than ever. They determined immediately to come to battle, and in full assurance of success, their wives and mistresses, for Corinth abounded in courtesans above all other cities³¹, were planted as spectators of their prowess, on the towering eminences which Pindar³² called Nature's bridge, in the midst of the sea, for joining the states in the Peloponnesus with those of the northern continent. Before they approached in this new confidence, Mummius had quitted his camp, and formed his order of battle, with proper detachments both of cavalry and infantry, to be kept in reserve, and to assail the enemy's flanks in the time of action. In consequence of this judicious arrangement, nothing could be more natural than the event of the combat; by the attack in flank, first the Achæan cavalry, and then the infantry, were totally discomfited; most of the unhappy fugitives sought refuge within the walls of Corinth, but Diæus, their wretched leader, did not cease from his flight till he reached Megalopolis in Arcadia. There, his despair pursuing him, he murdered his wife, set fire to his house, and then, like Menalcidas, his rival in infamy, swallowed a dose of poison³³.

³¹ Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 655.
& Strabo, l. xii. p. 559. He calls the
profligate Comana, a little Corinth.

³² Pindari Nemeor. Od. vi.

³³ Pausanias ibid. c. 16. Polybius.
l. iii. c. 32. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 2.
Velleius, Zonaras.

Corinth, into which the routed Achæans had thrown themselves, contained ample resources for subsistence and defence. Its walls, indeed, exceeded eight miles in circuit, including those of the citadel. This citadel, which had never been taken without treachery, stood on a high hill south of the town, completely securing it on that side; and on the three other sides it was defended by strong and lofty ramparts³⁴. From these ramparts, a wall two miles long extended to the Crissæan gulph and the western harbour Lechæum; and another fortification, thrice that length, stretched in an opposite direction towards the Saronic gulph and the eastern harbour Cenchreæ; two valuable appendages, whose commerce and customs had immemorially formed the sinews of Corinthian opulence³⁵. The city itself boasted an antiquity of nine hundred and fifty years, and during the far greater part of that time had been the staple of general traffic, into which the timidity of Greek mariners, who feared doubling Malea and Tenarus the southern capes of Peloponnesus, poured the corn of Sicily, the silver of Spain, the perfumes of Arabia, the spices of India, the ivory of Ethiopia, the manufactures of Egypt, of Babylon, and of Carthage. The Corinthians, besides, had many curious productions, and many valuable manufactures of their own. It was their highest glory that they had moulded the awkward and unsafe vessels of antiquity into the convenient form of trireme galleys³⁶. The machine, by which the potter fashions the most common materials into usefulness and elegance, if not invented, had received its last improvements from their hands³⁷. Their fabrics of cloth were in general request, and they had contrived various combinations of the more precious with the baser metals, which being cheaper, and not less brilliant than gold itself, were employed by sculptors and carvers in the formation of that variety of

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The routed
Achæans
throw
themselves
into Co-
rinth—
actual state
of that city.

³⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 262. & their form, History of Ancient
seq. & Plutarch Apophth. Lacon. p. Greece, v. i. c. 5.
215.

³⁵ Strabo, l. viii. p. 378. Oros. l. Conf. l. vii. c. 56. & Strabo, l. vii. p.
v. c. 3. 303. Athen. Deipn. l. i. p. 27.

³⁶ Thucyd. & Diodor. See for

³⁷ Plin. N. H. xxxv. c. 3. & 12.

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province received the name of Achaia, because originally composed of the states belonging to the Achæan league, although it afterwards included not only Lacedæmon in Peloponnesus, which had separated from that league, but all the states beyond the isthmus, to the frontiers of Thessaly, history not condescending to notice the time or circumstances of the gradual extension. Thessaly, on the other hand, was ascribed to the province of Macedon, to which country, when it held the rank of a kingdom, the Thessalians had long been subject ⁴⁰.

Polybius
beholds the
desolation
of Corinth
and the
dishonour
to its works
of art.

The destruction of Carthage preceded about two months that of Corinth; and it is worthy of remark, that these cities, a century afterwards, were rebuilt in the same year by order of Julius Cæsar, and both of them repeopled with Roman colonies ⁴¹. The historian Polybius beheld at a short interval of time the smoking ruins of both: for in the third or last Punic war, he had accompanied his friend Scipio Æmilianus, and continued during the whole course of it to be his principal adviser in every difficulty. Next to the generals, his glory was the greatest in the conquest of Carthage; a Greek writer of good credit even extols his fame above that of Scipio himself ⁴². But his joy at the overthrow of this once proud capital, if such a mind could rejoice in victory bearing desolation in her train, was soon converted into deep sorrow at the sight of Corinth, the fairest ornament of Achaia, now prostrate in the dust. Contrary to his repeated admonitions, the Achæans had embroiled their affairs with Rome, and thereby provoked and precipitated their wretched destiny. Polybius' hasty departure from Carthage could not avail them: already Corinth was demolished; its surviving citizens, collected in half dead heaps, waited the voice of the crier to be sold into perpetual servitude; its plundered magnificence and inestimable treasures of art were piled in huge masses of indiscriminate ruin, or scattered in disjointed fragments among the rude rapacious victors.

⁴⁰ Pausanias, Zonaras, Florus,
ibid.

⁴¹ Dion. Cassius, l. xliii. p. 238.

⁴² Pausanias Arcadic. c. 30.

Two masterpieces of painting, Hercules tormented by Dejanira's empoisoned garment, and the Bacchus of Aristides, the perfection of which had passed into a proverb, Polybius saw degraded into dice boards, and rattling under the coarse hands of legionary soldiers⁴². The meanest of these soldiers, indeed, knew as much of painting as the consul Mummius. Grossness and superstition of Mummius. It is told that when he sent the most admired productions of Greece aboard the transports destined to convey them to Rome, he exacted a promise from the shipmasters that if they lost any part of the cargoes intrusted to them, they should restore new articles of the same kind and of equal perfection⁴³: and when upon a more discriminate examination of the booty, Aristides' picture of Bacchus had been rescued from the drunken gamblers, and sold by public auction to Philopœmen, king Attalus' general, for the value of five thousand pounds, Mummius suspected that some secret magical virtue must be contained in a small and frail work bearing so high a price: he accordingly gave orders that the sale should be cancelled, and the tablet transported not to Pergamus but to Rome⁴⁴. Pergamus, however, obtained its full share of the spoils, and continued to display them as its proudest ornaments at the distance of three centuries⁴⁵.

Shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten commissioners, sent according to custom by the senate, arrived in Peloponnesus, to assist the general in settling the affairs of his province. A sentence of confiscation passed on the property of all concerned in a war which the Romans treated as a rebellion. An exception, however, to this harsh decree was made in favour of the children or parents of the deceased rebels. The estate of Diæus, and his house in Megalopolis, to which he had madly set fire, was ordered by the commissioners to be exempted from the general sale, and to be

Roman commissioners in Greece—disinterestedness and patriotism of Polybius. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

⁴² Polybius, l. xl. c. 7.

⁴⁴ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4.

⁴³ Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 13.

⁴⁵ Pausanias, *ibid*

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bestowed gratuitously on Polybius, himself a native of that city. But Polybius scorned the invidious present, and persuaded many of his friends (for all were not alike advisable) to decline advantages procured at the expense of their deluded and unhappy countrymen. The worth of his character appeared yet more conspicuously in repelling a strange accusation that had been urged by a nameless Roman before the consul and his assessors. This man, in the grossest abuse of victory, had classed Philopœmen and Aratus with the public delinquents in Peloponnesus, and arraigned them as state criminals. Though personal punishment could not be inflicted, he insisted that their anniversary honours ought to be abolished and their statues, together with those of Achæus their venerable precursor, pulled down and removed from Peloponnesus. He had prevailed with the judges; and the marble monuments of these illustrious pretors had already been transported to Acarnania on their way to Rome; but at the instance of Polybius the cause was reheard, and in his famous pleading on this occasion, the obligations of patriotism and honour were sounded by him in so high a strain, that the unworthy sentence was reversed, and men no longer branded as enemies to Rome, because they had been less zealous for the interests of that foreign commonwealth than for the safety and independence of their native country⁴⁶. By thus vindicating the fair fame of the dead, Polybius indirectly benefited the living. The statues of Philopœmen and Aratus, while they adorned every city of Peloponnesus, reminded the Achæans that they had once been a bold and free people; and the same glorious monuments could not fail to impose some salutary restraints on the Romans themselves, little influenced by justice, but still alive to shame and reproach.

His great
public ser-
vices to
Achaia.

The exertions of Polybius were directed to still more substantial services. The consideration which, through his autho-

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. xl. c. 7. & seq.

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city with Scipio, he enjoyed with every Roman of worth or dignity, and his intimate acquaintance with the interests and feelings both of Achaia and of Rome, made his interference highly acceptable to the consul Mummius and his assessors, in the final arrangement of affairs. Without any other commission than that conferred on him by the voice of public respect and admiration, he thus performed to general satisfaction the difficult and delicate task of adjusting the political relations between the two countries, in the manner best calculated to moderate dominion on the one hand, and to restrain rebellion on the other. The subsequent tranquillity of Greece was thought to attest the efficaciousness of his labours. With this testimony concurred that of his numerous statues in Pallantium, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Acacesius, and other cities of Peloponnesus, all bearing honourable inscriptions, and particularly that "Polybius formed the sole resource of his country, amidst calamities which she had incurred by rashly despising his advice⁴⁷."

When his abilities were thus dexterously exerted, Polybius was in his fifty-sixth year, about which period of life the greatest proficient in the knowledge of human nature fixed the age best qualified for offices of government in point of talents, experience, and above all of temper. He lived to his eighty-second year, and died then in consequence of a fall from his horse⁴⁸. The last twenty years of his life were devoted to the composition of his history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us entire. The subject of it is to explain how, from the commencement of the second Punic war, the Romans in the course of fifty-three years made themselves masters of the world. In this expression, Polybius adopted the language of the times, confounding the habitable world with the limits of Roman dominion. Yet we shall see presently, that amidst the crimes and calamities of Greek kingdoms, a great Barbarian power arose in the east,

⁴⁷ Pausanias Arcadic. c. 37.⁴⁸ Lucian. in Macrob.

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which subsisted in vigour upwards of three centuries; which always defied and repeatedly disgraced the Roman arms; and which, having usurped the widest and richest division of Alexander's empire, will appear, through subsequent parts of the present work, in all the gorgeous pride of Barbaric splendour.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ptolemy Physcon and his Minister Hierax. Diodotus' Intrigues in Syria.

Antiochus VI. Confederacy of Pirates. Their Traffic in Slaves. Corruptions thereby introduced into Rome. Diodotus, Emperor and King. State of neighbouring Powers. Mithridates V. of Pontus. A greater Mithridates among the Parthians. Their Manners and Institutions. Destruction of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. Reign of Mithridates II. of Parthia. Contemporary Greek Kings, their universal Infamy. Pergamus and Cyrene bequeathed to the Romans. Syria annexed to Armenia. Reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus. Arts and Letters.

THE battle of Antioch raised Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator, to the throne of Syria, on which his injustice and cruelty soon proved him unworthy to sit, and precipitated to an untimely grave his partner in victory, Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometer, the most commendable in point of honesty and humanity of all the Greek kings of the east. By his wife and sister Cleopatra, Philometer left behind him an infant son, but had unfortunately carried into Syria the flower of the Egyptian army, whose presence in the neighbourhood of Alexandria would have been necessary to defend the rights of that illfated child against his uncle Ptolemy Physcon. This prince who, after disputing a great kingdom with his brother, had never been satisfied with the award of Cyrene and part of Cyprus for himself, entered Egypt with a band of Cretan and other mercenaries, made his way by victories to Alexandria, gained admittance into that capital, forcibly¹ espoused the widow of his deceased brother, and,

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Ptolemy
Physcon
remounts
the throne.
of Egypt.
Olymp.
clviii. 4.
B. C. 145.

¹ Sororem natu majorem communi fratri nuptam, sibi nubere coegit. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1

CHAP. XXV. on the day of those abominable nuptials, stabbed the only child of Philometer in the arms of his mother Cleopatra².

His able
minister
Hierax.

This enormity formed a fit prelude to his bloody drama of twenty-nine years, a length of reign which reproaches the cowardice of his subjects. Yet tame and soft as the Egyptians in that age are described³, their oppressions would have recoiled on the tyrant, had not his good fortune procured for him the support of an artful and able minister. Under the impostor Alexander Balas, we have seen Hierax and Diodotus, two Syrian Greeks, commanding conjointly in Antioch. The former of these Greeks, upon the ruin of Balas, sought protection and employment in Egypt. Physcon, who knew the services of Hierax to one usurper, thought him a fit instrument for the purposes of another: he intrusted him with the chief direction of his affairs; and amidst the capricious cruelties of the prince, the government was upheld by the vigilance and energy of the minister⁴.

Diodotus'
intrigues in
Syria.

While Hierax acted this important part in Egypt, his former associate Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon "the luxurious," distinguished himself still more conspicuously in Syria. The order of succession to that kingdom had been confounded inextricably by the usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes; for the Syrians, through a mistaken loyalty, were inclined to constitute a title in consequence of a short possession, and to maintain a right of inheritance in him whose father, however unjustly, had worn the crown. In this manner Alexander Balas, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had dethroned the first Demetrius surnamed Soter; a new pretender deriving descent from Balas, might prove equally successful against the second Demetrius, notwithstanding his pompous title of Nicator. Diodotus, who well perceived the practicability of such a scheme⁵, contrived to get into his power a boy, the son of Balas, who

² Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365, et seq.

³ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

⁴ Diodor. Excerpt. p. 597.

⁵ 1 Maccab. c. 12.

had been detained in the family of Zabdiel, the same Arabian prince, who betrayed and surrendered the father. With this instrument of seduction in his hands, Diodotus rejoiced at the accumulating follies by which Demetrius Nicator alienated all classes of his subjects, not excepting the army. Trusting solely to mercenaries collected chiefly from Crete and other Grecian isles, he disbanded the whole of the national troops, who had hitherto been kept even during peace, in constant and full pay⁶. Lasthenes, the leader of his Cretans, trampled on the Antiochians and other inhabitants of the Syrian cities⁷. The Jews, a people inured to perpetual warfare, were provoked to arms by ingratitude and perfidy. To procure their aid during an insurrection in Antioch, Demetrius courted their highpriest and general Jonathan, with the promise of annexing to Judæa the three districts of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which then belonged to the Samaritans; and with the assurance of exemption thenceforward from all kinds of tribute. But having reduced the Antiochians by destroying, it is said, a hundred thousand of those industrious though occasionally turbulent citizens, he violated his engagements with the Jewish commander, and prepared to renew and aggravate towards that nation the worst outrages inflicted by his predecessors⁸.

At this crisis Diodotus appeared, proclaiming the son of Alexander Balas, and the grandson of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the rightful king of Syria⁹. He was immediately joined by many privy to his conspiracy, and gradually reinforced by innumerable malecontents from all parts of the country, who received their young king Antiochus VI. under the title of Epiphanes, inherited from his grandfather, and that of Bacchus, bestowed on him by his adherents to express his fine countenance and elegant figure¹⁰. Demetrius was obliged to fight for his kingdom. The loss of a battle near Antioch com-

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Their success promoted by the ill policy of Demetrius Nicator.

Diodotus proclaims Antiochus VI. Olymp. clix. 1. B. C. 144.

Demetrius defeated, shuts himself up in Seleucia Pieria.

⁶ Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8.

Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. liii.

⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592.

¹⁰ These titles appear on medals:

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. 11.

Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. calls him θεός, meaning thereby the god Bacchus.

⁹ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

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Diodotus
gains the
Jews to the
interest of
Antiochus
VI.

elled him to abandon that capital. The neighbouring cities on the seacoast still maintained their allegiance; and in the principal and strongest of them, Seleucia Pieria, he shut himself up with his mercenary guards, leaving the inland country to provide for its own defence, or submit to the enemy¹¹. It might be expected that Diodotus would have pursued his good fortune, laid siege to Seleucia, and, by taking his adversary in that place, have given a speedy termination to the war. But before the invention of gunpowder, the imperfection of battering engines left the art of attack far behind that of defence. Sensible that all attempts for making himself master of Seleucia would prove fruitless, Diodotus had recourse to other modes of warfare. To gain the Jews, in whose neighbourhood many cities adhered to the cause of Demetrius, he granted to them the toparchies or districts, which had been fraudulently withheld from them by that prince: he sent many honourable presents to Jonathan, and appointed his brother, Simon, commander of Antiochus' forces from the confines of Egypt to the *ladder* of Tyre, a mountain so called nearly midway between that city and Ptolemais. The Jews, on their part, extended their arms from the confines of Damascus, to those of the Nabathæan desert. They expelled hostile garrisons from Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa¹². Only the heathen fortress of Jerusalem, which held out for Demetrius, still presented obstacles not to be surmounted by their prowess.

Diodotus
excites the
pirates
against the
maritime
cities of
Syria.
Olymp.
clix. 1.
B. C. 144.

Another expedient which Diodotus adopted for distressing his adversary, was to cut off his indispensable resources in the maritime parts of Syria. Notwithstanding the perturbed state of the empire, Seleucia, Laodicæa, Aradus, Tripolis, and Tyre, carried on a rich commerce by sea, nourished, as will be seen presently, by a great caravan trade through the central regions of Asia. For ruining this traffic, Diodotus armed pirates, chiefly Cilicians, and formed the harbour of Coracesium on the western frontier of Cilicia, into their

¹¹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii. ¹² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. c. 11.

common arsenal and stronghold. To this period, accordingly, history assigns the commencement¹³ of the great piratical confederacy in Lesser Asia, which grew up in the course of five years under the fostering care of Diodotus, and lasted seventy-two years until the Cilicians were defeated by Pompey, pursued to their inmost receptacles, and finally reduced to subjection, though not to desperation, by the conqueror, since he assigned to them lands to cultivate in the inland country, and effectually estranged them in future from their roving life and fierce predatory habits¹⁴.

From the era of their formation by Diodotus, the piratical associations in Cilicia rendered themselves formidable. They not only swept the seas and deformed the coasts, but carried their baneful rapacity into the inland territory. Slaves constituted one of the principal objects of their pursuit, whom they were alike ready to acquire either by purchase or by robbery, such were the extraordinary profits attending this infamous traffic, especially after the conquest of Corinth and Carthage had greatly increased¹⁵ the demand for eastern slaves among the luxurious Romans. The warfare in Syria was thus exasperated by the desire of making prisoners, which were sure of a ready market in the central isle of Delos, where the Romans were the buyers, the Cilicians the sellers, and the persons of captive Syrians¹⁶ the unhappy merchandise. In Delos ten thousand Syrian slaves might find purchasers in a single day¹⁷. This infusion of Asiatic blood into Italy produced evils there, which Tiberius Gracchus in vain attempted to remedy. He was slain urging his agrarian law only ten years after the establishment of the slave market at Delos. The right of private property, of which Gracchus, in his proposed

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Their formidable power.—
Slave market at Delos.
Olymp. clix. 2.
B. C. 143.

Great corruptions thereby introduced at Rome, vainly opposed by Tiberius Gracchus.

¹³ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668

Cur timeam? dubitemque locum defendere? quamvis

¹⁴ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 94—96.

Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aures fenestræ

¹⁵ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668, 669.

¹⁶ Jampridem in Tiberim Syrus defluxit Orontes.

Arguerint, licet ipse negem.

Juvenal.

And again,

¹⁷ Strabo, ibid.

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partition of lands, was altogether careless, forms indeed the main pillar of civil society: yet it cannot be doubted that the accumulation of estates among the few, and the consequent abuse of exorbitant wealth, filled Italy with slaves instead of citizens; destroyed the habits of rural industry among the people at large; and, leaving only rich masters at the head of numerous and profligate servants, gradually rooted out those middle classes of men which constitute the best hopes of every well regulated commonwealth¹⁸.

Diodotus' execrable projects; the murder of his pupil Antiochus VI. Dionysus.

Prepares for this measure by destroying the faithful Jonathan.

The success which Diodotus acquired by his Cilicians at sea, and on land chiefly through his Jewish allies, encouraged him to the execution of a most execrable project. This was to destroy the youth whom he had set up under the name of Antiochus VI. and to assume in his own person the same royal prerogatives which he had exercised nearly two years for another. But an obstacle of no small moment still lay in the way. The Jews, and particularly their priest and general, Jonathan, had espoused with equal zeal and sincerity the cause of the young prince. Accordingly, Diodotus perceived the necessity of sacrificing Jonathan to his hope of destroying Antiochus with impunity. For this purpose, he decoyed the Jewish chief to an interview at Ptolemais, and there made him his prisoner, after putting to death a thousand soldiers by whom he had been escorted. Having thus got into his hands the ornament and defence of the nation, he prepared to invade Judæa with a great army, when finding that Simon, the last of the Asmonæan brethren, had assembled the people in their temple, and assumed, with general consent, the authority recently held by captive Jonathan, he sent notice to the Jews that their general had not been detained without good cause; that he remained however in perfect safety, and would be immediately set at liberty, provided Simon remitted a hundred talents which Jonathan owed to king Antiochus, and also surrendered the two sons of the latter as hostages. Though Simon saw the deceitfulness of this

¹⁸ Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.

proposal, he ventured not to reject it, lest he should expose himself to the imputation of indifference about his brother's freedom¹⁹. He therefore sent the money and the hostages; but no Jonathan came back in return. Diodotus, on the contrary, while he kept the Jewish captain in chains, approached Jerusalem with an army. Meanwhile the heathen fortress there, being hardly pressed by Simon, could not expect any assistance from Demetrius, who had quitted the stronghold of Seleucia for the more voluptuous city of Laodiceæ, and was there consoling himself amidst feasting and revelry, for the loss of half his kingdom. The Syrians, in their besieged fortress, contrived means therefore of applying to Diodotus, who hastened to their relief at the head of his cavalry. His progress to Jerusalem was interrupted by a heavy fall of snow among the mountains north of that city, which compelled him to retreat towards his winter quarters through the land of Gilead. At Bascama, in that district, his angry disappointment vented itself in the murder of Jonathan²⁰; and shortly afterwards in that of Antiochus Dionysus. To save appearances, the unhappy youth was subjected unnecessarily to the operation of cutting for the stone²¹: he died under the hands of a suborned surgeon; and Diodotus, with the name of Tryphon, assumed the diadem, joining to the title of king that of autocrator²² or emperor.

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Diodotus
assumes
the diadem
as emperor
and king.
Olymp.
clix. 2.
B. C. 143.

This usurpation he successfully defended against the generals of Demetrius, while that thoughtless prince remained inactive at Laodiceæ, in the delirium of wine and pleasure. On an occasion when the forces of Demetrius, commanded by Sarpedon, made an inroad into the country between Tyre and Ptolemais, they were resisted and put to flight by Tryphon, at the head of his garrison from the

Inundation
of the sea
on the coast
of Ptole-
mais.

¹⁹ 1 Maccab. c. xiii.

²⁰ Id. ibid.

²¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12.

²² ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, habens per se imperium, peculiar to the coins of Try-

phon, was the more naturally adopted by him, because the initials of his name, as guardian to Antiochus VI., had already appeared on the coins of that illfated child.

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latter city. But the victors, while they urged the pursuit, were overwhelmed on the coast of Ptolemais by a sudden inundation, occasioned probably by the explosion of a submarine volcano²³, which, on the return of the waves, left many of them drowned in hollows of the shore, and mingled with vast quantities of fishes which the sea had disgorged. Tryphon was in the number of those who escaped this memorable disaster, the scene of which was quickly revisited by Sarpedon. He received the fishes as a present from heaven, and performed grateful sacrifices to Neptune, who, by seasonably intercepting the enemy²⁴, had averted the total destruction with which his discomfited army was threatened.

Simon independent prince of the Jews. Olymp. clix. 2. B. C. 143.

Immediately on this event the Jews sent a crown of gold to Demetrius. He granted what he had no power to withhold, complete liberty to their nation, and contracted an alliance with Simon on terms of perfect equality. Shortly afterwards, the heathen fortress, overlooking the Jewish capital, surrendered; Simon, in a progress through the country, expelled many hellenizing rebels from Gadara, strongly fortified Bethsura on the southern frontier, and constructed the harbour of Joppa, a place forty miles from Jerusalem, which has continued to the present time the principal seaport in Palæstine. As he maintained in all things the character of independent sovereignty, assumed in his recent treaty with Demetrius²⁵, the Jews ceased to date their transactions by the years of the Syrian kings, for which they substituted those of their highpriest and prince Simon; a mode of computation thenceforward perpetuated under his successors.

Tryphon's golden victory accepted at Rome, but the giver treated contemptuously.

At the era of the Jewish emancipation from the yoke of Syria, the kingdom of the Greeks, which had once extended from the Ægean sea to the Indus, was reduced within very narrow limits. The imperial district of Syria Proper, and An-

²³ Strabo mentions the fact, l. xvi. p. 758 among other inexplicable phenomena.

viii. p. 333. The words however may be differently translated.

²⁵ 1 Maccab. c. xiv.

²⁴ Ποσειδωνι τροπαιφ Athenæus, l.

Antioch the seat of government, were disputed between Demetrius II. Nicator, and the usurper Tryphon. To sanction his usurpation and counterbalance the weight of the Jews, just thrown into the scale of his adversary, Tryphon sent a submissive embassy to the senate, breathing professions of unalterable fidelity, and conveying the present of a golden victory, weighing 10,000 aurei²⁶, yet more precious for the workmanship than the materials. The Romans did not reject a gift which came in so auspicious a form, but agreeably to the favour which they had shown to Antiochus Epiphanes, they caused the name of his supposed descendent, the murdered Antiochus VI. to be engraven on the statue of the goddess²⁷. In this manner they showed their equal contempt for Tryphon and Demetrius Nicator, in whose civil war they had determined not to take any part.

The Syrian competitors were thus obliged to look around them for allies towards the peninsula of Asia Minor on one side, and the countries of Upper Asia on the other. It becomes necessary, therefore, to review the state of the Asiatic powers that had been dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, in whose revolutions the fate of that much reduced dynasty continued thenceforward to be involved. Towards the front of the peninsula Attalus II. still reigned in Pergamus, but the enterprising activity of his youth began to be followed by an indolent old age, and he totally resigned himself to the guidance of his favourite and minister Philopœmen²⁸. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia had dethroned, as we have seen, his father Prusias the hunter, a tyrant equally contemptible and odious. But the condition of the Bithynians was little mended by the exchange. Through the severity of his government, Nicomedes rendered himself so unpopular among his subjects at home, that he was unable to appear with any dignity abroad. While these princes were prevented by indolence or inability from interfering in foreign affairs,

The Syrian rivals Tryphon and Demetrius look around for allies—the state of the powers of Asia.

Pergamus.

Bithynia.

Cappadocia. Praise-worthy pursuits of Ariarathes VI.

²⁶ About 8,000*l.* in value.

²⁸ See above, c. xxiv.

²⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. Legat. p. 629.

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XXV.

Pontus,
Mithri-
dates V.
father to
the brave
antagonist
of Rome.

A greater
Mithri-
dates of
Parthia.
Olymp.
clii. 3.
B. C. 170.

His respect
for the arts
of peace.

very different causes confined Ariarathes VI. to his domestic concerns in Cappadocia. With unwearied diligence he improved the arts and industry of that wide inland country: the humanity and love of letters which he inspired into the upper classes of his people, did not disqualify them for war, but promoted among them dispositions and habits essential to the best enjoyment of peace, and highly favourable to the preservation of it with all their neighbours²⁹. To the north of Cappadocia the yet obscure kingdom of Pontus had been fortified and extended by Mithridates V. a prince of merit and address, who appears to have held a peaceful dominion over many Greek cities on the Euxine; particularly Sinopè, the mother and queen of these cities, in which his farfamed son Mithridates VI. Eupator was born and educated³⁰.

But fifty years before this extraordinary prince began to reign towards the eastern shores of the Euxine, a king of the same name, and of a character not less enterprising, had assumed dominion over the eastern shores of the Caspian. This was Arsaces Mithridates I. son of Priapatus, and the fifth king of Parthia³¹, who mounted the throne shortly before the persecutions and rapacity of Antiochus Epiphanes had excited discontents or rebellions in most of the provinces of Upper Asia³². From this time forwards, the Parthian Mithridates, in a reign of thirty-seven years, contemporary with eight Syrian kings or usurpers, had extended his authority from the Euphrates to the Oxus. The vast central province of Media, between the Caspian and Persian gulph, formed a province of his empire³³. His armies frequently encamped on the great Assyrian plain; but this respectable prince, who retained no mark of his Scythian ancestry but dauntless courage and rapidity of conquest, carefully restrained his fierce horsemen from entering the industrious and populous cities in Babylonia, particularly Seleucia, then con-

²⁹ Diodor. Eclog. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518.

³⁰ Strabo, l. xii. p. 545.

³¹ He was the fifth Arsaces. Jus-

tin, l. xl. c. 6.

³² Trogus in Prolog. xli. Orosius, v. 4.

³³ Justin, ubi supra.

taining upwards of six hundred thousand inhabitants. The Parthians were compelled to pitch their tents on the opposite or eastern side of the Tigris, at a place afterwards called Ctesiphon, which thus from a camp gradually rose into a great city ³⁴.

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Before the reign of Mithridates in Parthia, the Greek kingdom of Bactria had subsisted fourscore years under two princes of the name of Theodotus, under Euthedemus the Magnesian, and his son Menander, all of whom deserved renown in the arts of war and peace. But the stream of their conquests flowed either to the remote regions of India, or to the unknown deserts of Scythia. With India they also were connected by a profitable commercial intercourse, of which the cities built by Alexander in the region of Paropamisus and on the Indus subsisted ³⁵ as convenient links. Mithridates of Parthia protected, encouraged, and extended arrangements, in consequence of which his own kingdom of Parthia or Khorosan traded on one hand with Bucharìa, the Bactria and Sogdia of the ancients, and on the other with Lesser Asia and Syria. In the great fairs of Bactra and Maracanda, the merchants of northern India exchanged the spices and gems of Hindostan for the gold of Ethiopia and the silver of Spain. The Caspian gates, as we have above seen, formed the main link of communication between northern and southern Asia; and in the neighbourhood of these gates the cities of Heraclæa and Alexandropolis, founded by Alexander the Great, became important staples; while Hecatompylos, at no great distance ³⁶, in the Proper Parthia, rose to a great capital, the proud seat of the Arsacidæ, indebted for its embellishments to commerce not less than to conquest.

His connexion with Bactria—state of that kingdom.

During the reign of Mithridates, the Parthians maintained a friendly connexion with the Bactrians, until Eucratidas, the fifth king of Bactria, was treacherously slain by his son

Mithridates levies war on the parricidal son of the Bactrian king.

³⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

³⁵ We shall see below, that these staples flourished to a much later period.

³⁶ According to Pliny, 133 Roman miles from the gates. N. H. l. vi. c. 15.

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and successor of the same name. To avenge the blood of his ally, Mithridates levied war on the parricide, and having stripped him of some of his provinces, and reduced him to repentance and submission, accepted this humbled prince in the number of his tributaries, still leaving to him his royal title, since the Greek king of Bactria was dethroned and destroyed by an irruption of Scythians ten years after the death of the Parthian conqueror. To the praise of this conqueror it is recorded, that he was, also, an able legislator. He collected, examined, and compared the institutions of all the various countries which either ambition or curiosity had engaged him to visit. From the whole number he selected, and established among the Parthians whatever appeared most congenial to their character and most conducive to the public interest. His justice and clemency were not less celebrated than his military skill and valour ³⁷.

In his old age unable to restrain the fierce passions of his people—the composition of Parthian armies.

Yet this respectable prince, as he declined into old age, was unable to restrain the evils inherent in all great Asiatic monarchies. According to the principles uniformly adopted in that quarter of the world, the dominant nation, whether Assyrians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, or Parthians, always disdained to live on the foot of equality with the other subjects of the same common sovereign. They spurned the obligations of justice towards those whom they deemed naturally and essentially their inferiors. This tyranny of nations over nations, unceasingly prevalent in Asia, exerted itself with unusual violence in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Mithridates, who, as he had succeeded to the throne in advanced manhood, must have then been verging to the extremity of old age. But his Parthians were in the highest bloom of youthful prosperity. They had been formed, as we have seen, from a mixed assemblage of Scythian or Sclavonian tribes; each tribe consisting of warriors and horsemen slaves to their chieftains, and of miserable peasants, who sometimes

³⁷ Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 597.

served on foot, but who were of no account in the state or army³⁸. With the growing prosperity of the empire, those military slaves continually augmented by purchase and propagation as well as by conquest, and were trained by their masters to war and horsemanship not less carefully than their own children: the chieftains or nobility vied with each other in bringing to the standard of their king well disciplined squadrons, at once their property and their pride; so that Parthian armies amounting to fifty thousand cavalry, sometimes did not contain four hundred freemen. Uncouth as such institutions may appear to the civilized nations of Europe, they long prevailed in modern times among the Mamelukes in Egypt³⁹: and the founder of the Russian greatness, when he set himself to improve an empire comprehending the original seats of the Parthians, found an army of 300,000 men, composed of slaves of the nobility⁴⁰. Although we have seen that agriculture and commerce were not neglected by the humbler subjects of Mithridates, yet the flower of his nation is described as constantly employed either in hunting parties or in military expeditions, and always on horseback, even in the streets of their cities. On horseback they visited, feasted, and celebrated all their public solemnities. Besides the equestrian archers who fought flying, and wearied out an enemy by often renewed assaults, they had heavy cataphracts or cuirassiers clad in the steel of Margiana, a province immediately eastward of Parthia, armed with long lances⁴¹, and bearing a wonderful resemblance in

³⁸ Posidonius vel Trogu Pompeius apud Justin, l. xli. c. 3. Conf. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. The same manners prevailed in the middle age: the flower of the Slavonians fought on horseback. Leo. Imperat. Tactic. & Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. ii. & l. iii. passim. Suidas in the word Σιγος says, the Parthians collected the long reins of their bridles into a knot or heap, which they threw at their enemies, and rode off with them thus entangled. In imitation of this, the Sla-

vonian infantry made use of long ropes, with which they often caught their adversaries in a running noose. Procop. ibid. Conf. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 17. & Mauricii Strategicum, l. xi. c. v. p. 273. et seq. edit. Sheffer. Upsal, 1664.

³⁹ Pocock Prolegom. ad Abulphar. p. 7.

⁴⁰ Schmidt's Ruffische Geschichte.

⁴¹ Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 126. & seq & Justin, l. xli. & xlii. passim.

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all points with the chivalrous warriors of the middle ages. In those ages, the institutions of knighthood, in which combatants entered the lists on horseback with extraordinary splendour, displaying more extraordinary address and valour, are said by an eminent historian to have occasioned the predilection for cavalry so long prevalent in modern Europe⁴². But as this predilection appeared still more conspicuously, and continued still longer among the Parthians, it ought to be regarded, not as the consequence, but rather as the cause of knighthood, and other corresponding distinctions, since in Parthia those only could wear the ring, the cincture, and the clasp, to whom the king assigned such ornaments as rewards for equestrian dexterity⁴³. Among this warlike people, collected from rude clans into a great nation, some honours also appear to have been hereditary. There was an officer who acted as a sort of deputy to the king in marshalling the cavalry, and who was entitled by his birth to crown every new sovereign. This officer was named the Surena⁴⁴: his dignity devolved from father to son: when Parthia was governed by weak princes, the power of the Surena proportionally rose in the scale; and from his right of officiating at the ceremony of coronation, we shall find examples in which he presumed to dispose of the monarchy.

Their love
of finery
and ostenta-
tion.

In adorning themselves and their horses, the Parthians, as they advanced in opulence, showed the utmost extravagance of Barbaric finery⁴⁵. Their dress consisted in the tiara, the

⁴² Robertson's Reign of Charles V. vol. i. p 103. 8vo. edit.

⁴³ Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 2.

⁴⁴ Dion. Cassius. Plutarch in Crasso. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. & l. xxx.

⁴⁵ Julian in Panegy. Constant. He says they assumed all the magnificence of the Persians, wore the Median Robe, were clothed in gold and purple; and assigns for the reason, *το μη δοκίειν ἀριστὰν Μακεδονῶν, ἀναλαβὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλείαν*. "They

wished to have themselves considered not as Parthians, who had revolted from the Macedonian empire, but as Persians ancient lords of Asia." In that quarter of the world, indeed, the victors have generally conformed to the customs of the more civilized vanquished: the luxury of the Parthians was borrowed from the Persians, as that of the Persians from the Medes, and that of the Medes from the Assyrians. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. c. 1 Diodorus, l. v. c. 45.

double tunic, and the large pantaloons inclosing the legs and thighs⁴⁶, and defended towards the extremities with buskins of red leather, often studded with pearls. On public occasions they assumed the *candys*, which the Medes had borrowed from the Assyrians; a floating, resplendent robe, whose lateral openings allowed free motion to the limbs, and displayed the richness of their inward attire embroidered with gold, and dyed of various colours⁴⁷. Their cinctures, bespangled with gems, are compared by the poets to the flowery meadows of Sicily⁴⁸. Bracelets, necklaces, and earrings, were ostentatiously worn by men⁴⁹: whereas women could derive but little pride from female ornaments, being debarred from all public assemblies, and condemned to that humiliating servitude⁵⁰ which universally takes place wherever polygamy prevails. Yet the sternest dominion of husbands or masters, the kings of Parthia often exercised over the bravest warriors and proudest nobles. Whoever among them offended the king had his head and right hand severed from his body⁵¹. Terror was the principle of the government; ignorance, presumption, ferocity, and unbridled luxury were the national characteristics; and a people, who obeyed only through fear, could not fail to domineer without mercy, when, having become the great paramount power in Asia, they were entitled, according to received maxims in that quarter of the world, to spurn all nations as their vassals.

CHAP.
XXV.

Parthian
polygamy,
despotism,
and tyrann-
ny of nati-
ons over
nations.

The Greeks and Macedonians, from the contrast of persons and manners, were the most exposed to the vexations of those tyrants, and the least calculated patiently to endure them. They communicated their grievances to each other, Demetrius Nicator's campaign and captivity among the Par-

⁴⁶ The *αναξυρίς*. Vid. Hesych. ad voc. *Sarabara*, and the reverse of a gold medal of Augustus, with the legend "*Signis receptis*," apud Vaillant *Histor. Arsacid.* p. 176.

⁴⁷ Chares Mytelenens. apud Athen. l. iii. Justin. l. xl. c. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

⁴⁸ Claudian de Raptu Proserpinae, l. ii. v. 94.

⁴⁹ Chares & Marcellin. *ibid.*

⁵⁰ Justin, l. xli. c. 3.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. xv. p. 734. Conf. Posidonius apud Athen. Deipn. p. 192. The philosophic historian Posidonius had treated copiously of Parthian customs and manners. From him and Apollodorus of Artemeta have been handed down many notices remaining on that subject. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 466. Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. & Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

CHAP.
XXV.

thians.

Olymp.

clix. 4.

B. C. 141.

Marries
Rhodoguna
daughter to
Mithri-
dates.

His queen
Cleopatra
forms the
design of
marrying
his younger
brother.
Olymp.
clix. 1.
B. C. 140.

and to the barbarous satrapies among which they were scattered. At length they excited the will to rebellion, and in looking around for a leader to render it successful, bethought them of Demetrius Nicator, while that prince was no less eager to regain the provinces severed from the kingdom of the Greeks, and to recover, through the resources with which they were calculated to furnish him, the undisturbed possession of Syria, the imperial domain of his ancestors. Leaving therefore his queen Cleopatra to maintain the war at home against the usurper Tryphon, he hastened across the Euphrates to put himself at the head of the insurgents in Upper Asia. Several battles are said to have been gained by him; for the voluntary retreats of the Parthians were probably construed into victories. But the incidents related of his campaign are few and contradictory, though the issue of it is certain, that he was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity⁵². The mild treatment of such a dangerous invader originated in the humanity and policy of Mithridates; since, among the last actions of his life, was the marriage of Demetrius with his fair daughter Rhodoguna, and his sending the Syrian king to reside in Hyrcania, with every accommodation and indulgence that could console him for the loss of liberty, and soothe his fallen fortunes⁵³.

The captivity of Demetrius gave a new turn to affairs in Syria. Tryphon, as if his own power had thereby been established on a firm footing, began to throw aside the disguises which he had hitherto worn, and to play the tyrant with open and frontless audacity. The better and wealthier part of the Syrians therefore threw themselves into the scale of Cleopatra, the wife of the captive prince, and the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer; but a daughter, whose unprincipled selfishness strongly contrasted with the honesty and disinterested-

⁵² Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. c. 14. & Orosius, l. v. c. 4
7. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. ⁵³ Id. ibid.

ness of her father. She had secured herself from the insults of her enemies within the impregnable stronghold of Seleucia Pieria. Her husband indeed had contracted a new marriage in Parthia; but this act had been performed by a prisoner who had no will of his own. Cleopatra was the mother of two sons born to the hopes of the empire. Notwithstanding these obstacles in the way, she looked with desire towards the younger brother of her absent husband⁵⁴, who had been educated, as we have seen, in the secure and respectable commonwealth of Cnidus, and who, as he grew to manhood had, by his spirit and liberality, rendered himself popular in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and the intermediate isles.

Cleopatra exhorted this prince, who was afterwards known in history by the name of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, "the hunter⁵⁵," to hasten to Syria with all the mercenaries that he could levy, to claim the vacant throne of which she doubted not to put him in possession; at any rate to share her bed and fortunes. Antiochus entered into her views, with all the eagerness of youthful ambition. What his own fortune, though ample, was unable to supply, might be furnished to him by the still wealthy Syrians. He landed at Seleucia with an army composed chiefly of Greeks, attacked Tryphon, whose party was now reduced to extreme weakness, drove him from the open country, and shut him up within the fortress of Dora, on the coast of Samaria⁵⁶.

Before arriving in Syria, Antiochus had obtained the friendship of Simon, highpriest and prince of the Jews. Simon accordingly sent towards Dora a supply of troops and warlike engines, with a view to gratify his ally. But Antiochus, in the tide of his prosperity, now needed not such auxiliaries. The Jews, it seems, to secure their newly declared sovereignty, had applied to the Roman senate, and the senate, always ready to protect small states against more pow-

CHAP.
XXV.

He assumes
the title of
Antiochus.
VII. Si-
detes.
Olymp.
clx. 2.
B. C. 139.

He defeats
Tryphon.

Transac-
tions with
the Jews.

⁵⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

⁵⁶ 1 Maccab. c. 15. Joseph. Antiq.

⁵⁵ Plutarch Apophth. from the l. xiii. c. 7.
Syrian word zidah, to hunt.

CHAP.
XXV.

Pursuit and
murder of
Tryphon.
Olymp.
clx. 3.
B. C. 138.

Antiochus
VII. pre-
pares for an
eastern ex-
pedition.

erful neighbours, had written to the principal kings in the East, to respect the independence of their friends and confederates⁵⁷. In the list of princes to whom these letters were addressed, we find Ptolemy VII. of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamus, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, Mithridates V. of Pontus, Mithridates I. of Parthia, and Demetrius II. of Syria. The name of Demetrius could not fail to prove offensive to a brother who had usurped his throne. The assistance of the Jews was accordingly rejected by Antiochus, who, with his Greek forces alone, assaulted and took Dora. Tryphon escaped by sea to the neighbouring stronghold of Orthosias in Phœnicia; Antiochus invested and made himself master of that place: but his victim again eluded his grasp by scattering money, it is said, in the way of the horsemen who were sent in pursuit of him⁵⁸. He reached in safety Syrian Apamea, near to which, in a castle called Secoana, he had been born and educated. On this his natal ground, he either laid violent hands on himself, (for his story is differently told), or was put to death by his pursuers⁵⁹. He had reigned two years in the name of a boy, Antiochus VI., and four years in his own. The few places which held out for him, speedily opened their gates to Antiochus VII. now husband of Cleopatra, and undisturbed master of the kingdom.

It was natural for a young prince, whose designs had advanced during two years on a flowing tide of prosperity, to think no undertaking too great for his abilities and good fortune. Mithridates I. king of Parthia, had died full of years and honour. His son Phraates II. succeeded to the throne. He continued to treat Demetrius with the indulgence hitherto shown to that captive prince: but the pride and presumption of the Parthians knew no abatement. Antiochus conceived hopes of levying war with more success than his brother, against that tyrannical nation. He had an army of Eu-

⁵⁷ 1 Maccab. c. xiv, xv.

⁵⁸ Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 13.

⁵⁹ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 70.
Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

ropean Greeks at his disposal, of which his brother had been destitute; and the unceasing vexations of the enemy would procure for him formidable auxiliaries among the nations of Upper Asia. But before his preparations were in readiness for marching to the East, it was recommended to him to disarm the Jews, a stubborn domestic foe. This undertaking was committed to his general, Cendebæus, who commanded on the seacoast. Simon was prevented by old age from taking the field; but his sons, Judas and John, approved themselves able protectors of their nation⁶⁰; and the freedom of Palæstine had less to fear from open enemies than from concealed traitors.

The leaven of hellenizing brethren still subsisted in the country, and even in the family of the highpriest, whose son-in-law, Ptolemy, (for this apostate had assumed a Greek name), at an entertainment given in the castle of Jericho, where he commanded as governor, assassinated Simon, together with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias. The emissaries of the murderer hastened to Gadara, to take off John, the only remaining son of Simon, after which Ptolemy hoped, in right of his wife, and by the good will of Antiochus, of whom he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal, to appropriate all the opulence and honours belonging to the Asmonæan family. But the vigilance and dexterity of John defeated his machinations, and obtained for himself⁶¹ the office of highpriest and general, which his father had filled, eight years, with unblemished integrity and conspicuous abilities.

Meanwhile, Antiochus, as if he had been privy to and approved the blow struck by the execrable Ptolemy, invaded Judæa, and besieged the capital. The king, however, who was rather prompted by those around him, than himself hearty in the war, and who burned with impatience for his Parthian expedition, listened to proposals of peace from the Jewish highpriest. A tribute was imposed on those cities and

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Assassination of Simon and his two sons.
Olymp. clxi. 2.
B. C. 135.

The third son John Hyrcanus tributary to Antiochus VII.

⁶⁰ Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1
Maccab. c. xv.

⁶¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1
Maccab. c. xvi.

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Antiochus' army, his march into Upper Asia and victories. Olymp. cxxii. 2—3. B. C. 131—130.

Immense preparations had been made for this eastern warfare, and the army was the most numerous and the most splendidly equipped of any that had taken the field since the brilliant years of Antiochus III. surnamed the Great. The fighting men amounted to eighty thousand, and their followers of all descriptions exceeded three times that number. Historians expatiate particularly on the bulky retinue of vice and folly by which the camp was incumbered; musicians, dancers, stage players, buffoons, and all those beautiful outcasts or alluring warblers of the female sex, who subsisted by the prostitution of their talents and of their persons⁶³. The gold and silver, the resplendent tissues and costly luxuries, many of them brought from the extremities of the east and south, which enriched the tents and tables of the Syrians⁶⁴, afford a convincing proof that incessant but petty wars had not intirely suspended the extensive commerce carried on through central Asia. Notwithstanding partial examples to the contrary, industry and the arts were exempted from merciless depredation, and temples, the safeguards of peaceful intercourse, were in general respected by invading conquerors. In proceeding to Mesopotamia, Antiochus pursued the northern route, and being joined by many Babylonian malecontents, crossed the Tigris into Atyria, watered by two rivers, fancifully called, as we have seen, the Wolf and the Boar. On the former of these rivers, the Parthians had assembled in great force under Indates, the commander intrusted on that side with the defence of the empire. After two partial encounters, a general engagement ensued; the

⁶² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 l. ix. c. 10. Maccab. c. xvi.

⁶³ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 10. Orosius, l. v. c. 10. Valerius Maximus, l. x. p. 439. and l. xii. p. 540.

⁶⁴ Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 210. and

Barbarians were put to the rout; a Greek trophy adorned the banks of the Lycos⁶⁵; where Antiochus halted the first two days of Pentecost, at the request of John, the Jewish priest and general; a condescension which indicates that the Jews, as on many former occasions, had conspicuously signalled their prowess in this decisive victory. On nearly the same ground Alexander had finally vanquished the Persians. Equally triumphant, Antiochus hastened into Media, and received its willing submission. As he approached the Caspian sea, Phraates and his Parthians fled before his victorious arms; and the general of the Jews being sent with his detachment into Hyrcania, immediately contiguous to that sea, made so rapid a conquest of the country, that the epithet Hyrcanus, is said thenceforward, by way of honour, to have adhered to his name of John⁶⁶.

After these events, all is confusion or obscurity in the reign of Antiochus the Hunter. His forces, however, we may discern, were cantoned into numerous and small parties⁶⁷ over the vast countries which they had overrun. In their winter quarters, the commanders, and particularly a general of the Greek name Athenæus, indulged them in the utmost licence of rapacity and cruelty. They were attacked on all sides at once, with as seasonable cooperation, as if a conspiracy had been formed against them by the victims of their oppression. Phraates, with such troops as had accompanied his flight, returned to avail himself of the misfortunes of the enemy. He encountered Antiochus as that prince hastened to remedy the disorders produced by the misconduct of his generals; and the Syrian king was either slain in battle⁶⁸, or put to death after defeat⁶⁹, or died in despair by his own sword⁷⁰, or threw himself headlong down a precipice⁷¹. These, and a

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Cause of
his reverse
of fortune.

⁶⁵ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 8.

⁶⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 603.

⁶⁸ Joseph. ubi supra.

⁶⁹ Euseb. Chronic. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 439.

⁷⁰ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

⁶⁶ He is called, however, Hyrcanus by way of anticipation before this expedition; the name, as we have seen, was before known among the Jews, and the origin of it is doubtful. Vid. Dodwell de Cyclis Dissert. ix.

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still greater variety of contradictory reports, mutually discredit each other; and the evidence of more authentic history concurring with that of Syrian coins, proves that Antiochus still lived and reigned the year following his defeat by Phrahates, and was slain two years afterwards in an attempt to rob the temple of Nanæa.

Slain in attempting to rob the temple of Nanæa on mount Zagros.

This obscure goddess should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of mount Zagros. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betrothe her, entered the temple slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Nanæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred inclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess⁷².

Irruptions of Scythians. Olymp. clxii. 3. clxiv. 1. B. C. 130—124.

The circumstance that enabled Antiochus to rally, after he had been discomfited by Phrahates, was a sudden irruption of Scythian Nomades. A horde of those Scythians, we are told, had been invited into the service of Phrahates to counteract the Syrian invasion⁷³. They came, however, too late; and, on this account, their stipulated pay was denied them. But independently of this ground of quarrel the shepherds in *Turan* always hung, as in ambush, over the husbandmen in *Iran*; and when an opportunity offered, were ready to pour down on them in merciless desolation. On the present occasion Phrahates II. and his follower Artabanus II. were in the course of four years their successive victims; and in the middle point between the destruction of these princes, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was, in the year 126 before the Christian era, finally demolished and swept away by Scythians from beyond the *Jaxartes*, divided into various tribes, under various uncouth appella-

Extinction of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Olymp. clxiii. 3. B. C. 126.

⁷¹ Ælian. *Histor. Animal.* l. x. c. 34. ⁷² 2 Maccab. c. i. ⁷³ Justin, l. xlii. c. 1

tions⁷⁴. This desolating irruption is attested in the annals of China⁷⁵ as well as in those of Greece; a coincidence in remote sources of information the more satisfactory, because the learned author who first communicated the Chinese testimonies appears to have been wholly ignorant that they confirm notices in Strabo the Greek geographer⁷⁶.

The eastern dependencies of Bactria subsisted to a much later period under the government of Greeks. The district of Badakshan, two hundred miles east of Bactra or Balk, was governed by a family claiming descent from Alexander the Great even to modern times: and the hilly country of Bijore, the Bazira of Alexander, contained a tribe which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, continued to boast the same origin⁷⁷. How far the most civilized nations of Asia were indebted to those Greeks in matters of literature and science, it is not easy to determine. Some astronomical instruments, found anciently in China, and placed in the cities of Pekin and Nankeen, are said to have been of a construction unfit for use in those places, but to have been accurately formed for the 37th parallel, the latitude of Balk or Bactra⁷⁸. As the ancient history of the Hindoos is wholly involved in fable, no satisfactory information can be obtained from that source. Yet whoever considers their abstract philosophy, so unlike to all other productions of their own genius, and so similar to metaphysical refinements, often growing out of the Greek tongue, will be inclined to suspect the originality of the Hindoos in these nice speculations, and to refer their high literary attainments to a later period than that usually assigned them⁷⁹.

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Far later
subsistence
of the east-
ern depen-
dencies of
Bactria.

⁷⁴ Tachari Sacaurauli, &c. Strabo, l. xi. p. 511.

⁷⁵ Monsr. de Guigne's Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo edit.

⁷⁶ Strabo, ibid.

⁷⁷ See Rennell's Memoir, 3d edit. p. 161, 166, 201.

⁷⁸ Barrow's Travels in China, p.

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⁷⁹ Compare the speculative doctrine of the Hindoos as stated in the Ayeen Acbery, translated by Mr. Gladwin, with the account of Greek philosophy in History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 32. and in my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works, with supplement.

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Mithri-
dates II. of
Parthia, or
Arsaces
IX.
Olymp.
clxiv. 1.—
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 124—
88.

In the invasion of Parthia, the Syrians had fought for conquest, and were defeated; but the Scythians, though victorious, aimed only at plunder. Having satiated their rapacity, they marched homeward; and when the passing hurricane had spent its force, Mithridates, a name propitious to Parthia, on succeeding to his father Artabanus, collected the strength of his nation, and again consolidated his kingdom. This second Mithridates rivalled the first in the length and splendour of his reign⁸⁰. It lasted thirty-six years; in the course of which time he recovered the former possessions of the empire, and even extended them on the side of Armenia, and is therefore distinguished on his coins and in history by the title of Great; a title, thus bestowed on the restorer, which with more propriety might have been conferred on the founder of the Parthian greatness. A hundred years before the reign of Mithridates II. in Parthia, Antiochus III. of Syria assumed, for a similar reason, the same boastful appellation; but of all the kings who either in ancient or modern time have been denominated Great by their contemporaries, the title, when not melted into one word with the name, has uniformly adhered to the Great Alexander only: his matchless glory alone sustaining the weight of so lofty a distinction.

Demetrius
II. re-
mounts the
throne of
Syria.
Olymp.
clxii. 3.
B. C. 130.

The invasion of Parthia by Antiochus VII. which ended in the death of that enterprising prince, was the last attempt made by any of the Seleucidæ for restoring the splendour of the Syrian monarchy. His brother Demetrius II. escaped from Parthia, amidst the convulsions of that kingdom, and recommenced a reign of four years, equally turbulent at home and inglorious abroad. John Hyrcanus returned also from the East. The interests of his country were ever uppermost in the mind of Hyrcanus; and from this period he continued to govern the Jews twenty-two years, with a policy not less glorious than his prowess in combating the Parthians⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Justin, l. xlii. c. 2. & Porphyry.
in Græc. Eusebian.

⁸¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17, 18.

Shortly before Antiochus' expedition into Upper Asia, Attalus II. king of Pergamus, died of old age, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, fell in the field of battle, and Hierax, the able minister of Egypt, perished by the cruel arts of his master⁸². From this time forward, in Syria, in Egypt, and in every other Greek kingdom, there was a rapid degeneracy in character still more than in fortune; and the corruptions by which all of them were undermined before their final ruin, justifies the boldest, but most disgusting of all metaphors by which royal vices have been branded⁸³.

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Contemporary and subsequent Greek kings—their universal infamy.

Attalus III. of Pergamus was either a madman at the time of his accession, or driven afterwards into madness by his execrable crimes. He was the son of Eumenes, elder brother to the late king, and in gratitude to that prince, named as heir by Attalus II. in preference to his own children⁸⁴. But he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he stained his palace with the blood of his nearest relations and the best friends of his family⁸⁵. He then secluded himself from public view, totally neglected the care of his person, and assuming a sordid habit, spent his time in cultivating a garden stored with poisonous plants, which he sent as presents to those who had the misfortune to be numbered among his friends⁸⁶. From such a prince, no attention could be expected to affairs foreign or domestic. His mercenaries, and those who commanded them, were masters of the kingdom. When Attalus grew tired of gardening, he betook himself to the occupation of a founder. His last production in that line was a brazen monument to his mother Stratonice, for he affected the title of Philometer, and perpetrated some of his worst cruelties on pretence of revenging the murder of that princess, who had died through the infirmities incident to old

Frantic reign of Attalus III. of Pergamus. Olymp. clx. 3—clxi. 4. B. C. 138—133.

⁸² Athenæus, l. vi. p. 252. erroneously ascribes the murder of Hierax to Ptolemy Philometer, who never put to death any, even of his worst enemies. Polyb. l. xl. c. 12.

⁸³ The last of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ “were worms and venomous reptiles growing out of the

carcase of Alexander's once flourishing empire.” Plutarch in Alexand.

⁸⁴ Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.

⁸⁵ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 601.

⁸⁶ Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4

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The Pergamenian
usurper
Aristonicus
—he de-
feats Lici-
nius Cras-
sus.
Olymp.
clxii. 3.
B. C. 130.

age. In casting the monument of Stratonice, the heat of the weather conspiring with that of the work, is said to have thrown him into a fever, which destroyed him in seven days, after he had named the Romans for his heirs ⁸⁷.

Of this strange destination the sedition of the Gracchi, which then raged at Rome, prevented the senate from adopting proper measures immediately to avail itself. Aristonicus, whom his partisans called the son of Eumenes, profited by the delay. This pretender, born from the daughter of an Ephesian musician, had never been acknowledged either by his supposed father Eumenes, or by his uncle Attalus Philadelphus, or by his brother Attalus Philometer. Yet hatred to the Romans, and aversion to a foreign yoke, made many among the Pergamenians desire him for their king ⁸⁹. His cause was warmly espoused by the Phocæans; he seized the stronghold of Leucæ, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; success multiplied his adherents; the Thracians, greedy of plunder, flocked to his standard; he acquired a fleet and army; and, though opposed at sea by the Ephesians, and at land by forces from Pontus, Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries in alliance with Rome, he in little more than a twelvemonth made himself master of all the principal cities in the kingdom. At length the Romans, who had hitherto counteracted him only by embassies to their allies, sent into Asia Licinius Crassus with an army. This consul, odious by his severity and rapacity, was surprised, defeated, and made prisoner in the neighbourhood of Elæa, the principal seaport of Pergamus. His presence of mind, however, saved him from the disgrace of falling into the cruel hands of the victor. By piercing the eye of a Thracian, who conducted him to Aristonicus, he provoked the barbarian to despatch him with his dagger ⁹⁰.

Is defeated
and sent to
Rome by

Perperna, successor to Crassus, did not allow the enemy long to enjoy his triumph. He attacked him unexpectedly

⁸⁷ Justin, *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. & Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho.

⁸⁸ Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix.

⁹⁰ Frontin. Stratagem. l. 4. c. 5. Florus, l. ii. c. 20. Valer. Maxim. l. iii. c. 2.

in the district of Stratonicea, besieged him in that city, into which he had thrown himself after the rout of his army, compelled him to surrender at discretion, and sent him in chains to Rome⁹¹. The Phocæans, his abettors, narrowly escaped a fate not less dreadful. They had strenuously assisted Antiochus the Great; they had supported the claims of the impostor Aristonicus. The senate exasperated by these provocations from so small a state, had determined totally to extirpate their name and nation. But the warm interposition of Massilia in Gaul, a colony of Phocæa, and which had hitherto subsisted on the most friendly footing with Rome, had the glory of saving the former republic from destruction, and of rescuing the latter from the disgrace of committing a most execrable enormity⁹². The Romans, indeed, at this time, must have been familiar with crimes, since the war being again kindled after the departure of Perperna, Aquilius, who succeeded to him as consul, submitted to the infamy of reducing several Pergamenian cities, by poisoning⁹³ the fountains which sent them their only supplies of fresh water. Besides Nicodemus II. of Bithynia, whose assistance seems to have been of little importance, both Mithridates V. of Pontus, and Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, contributed their best services toward annexing Pergamus to Rome. They were both of them respectable princes, and wanted not penetration to discern the ambition of the great Western republic, but discerned also their inability to resist it. The king of Cappadocia perished in the defeat of Crassus; the king of Pontus shared the victory of Perperna, and was rewarded by the senate with the gift of some districts in Phrygia⁹⁴, the resumption of which by the Romans afforded, as we shall see hereafter, matter of bitter complaint to Mithridates VI. Eupator, his immediate successor.

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Perperna.
Olymp.
clxii. 3.
B. C. 130.

⁹¹ Conf. Florus, l. ii. c. 20 Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 38. Valer. Maximus, l. iii. c. 4.

⁹² Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

⁹³ Florus, l. ii. c. 20.

⁹⁴ Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

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Patricidal
murders of
Laodice
queen re-
gent of
Cappado-
cia.
Olymp.
clxii. 4.
B. C. 129.

The rewards due to Ariarathes, consisting in some contiguous portions of Lycaonia and Cilicia, were bestowed on his family; a flourishing family of six sons, under the guardianship of their mother Laodice, who, by the will of her husband, was left regent of the kingdom. But this flagitious woman, with a view to retain power, poisoned five of her sons before they attained the age of majority. The sixth was saved by the interposition of his relatives, and the loyal solicitude of the Cappadocians⁹⁵. Upon the conviction and punishment of his unnatural mother, Ariarathes VII. assumed the government⁹⁶, and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Mithridates V. of Pontus⁹⁷, named also Laodice, a name, as we shall see hereafter, ever inauspicious to the fortunes of Cappadocia.

Brutality
of Ptolemy
Physcon.
Olymp.
clxj. 4.
B. C. 133.

During these transactions in Lesser Asia, Ptolemy Physcon pursued his mad career in Egypt with such intolerable cruelty, that his subjects were at length driven into rebellion. We have seen his bloody marriage with his brother's widow Cleopatra. This princess was repudiated to make room for the daughter of her first marriage named also Cleopatra, whose chastity Physcon first corrupted before he thought fit to raise the harlot to his bed⁹⁸. With scenes, however abominable, confined within the walls of the palace, his subjects cared not to interfere; even his open violations of those laws which protect personal security, had been endured without resistance by the multitude, while the higher ranks in Alexandria, among whom the philosophers and men of letters are particularly specified, betook themselves to a voluntary banishment into those countries of Asia and Europe, where the Greek being the prevailing language, their talents and industry might procure them a livelihood. Yet Ptolemy's profligacy and brutality had not obliterated the remembrance that the patronage of letters formed the hereditary distinction

⁹⁵ Justin, *ibid*.⁹⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.⁹⁷ Justin, *ibid*.⁹⁸ Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

of his family. He had studied under the critic Aristarchus⁹⁹, he admired the philosopher Eudoxus, his liberality had been unbounded towards the sophist Eparetus. He himself affected the praise of literary accomplishments; and could find amusement in acquiring them, amidst pursuits of the most contrary nature¹⁰⁰. Accordingly he is said to have regretted the irksome solitude to which his tyranny had reduced him, and to have spared no pains either to bring back the fugitives, or to attract to Alexandria new inhabitants of a description not less respectable¹⁰¹.

While he was thus employed in repeopling his capital, commissioners came to him from Rome, sent, according to the policy of that state, to inspect at proper intervals the affairs of allied kingdoms. The commissioners consisted of the younger Scipio, of Mummius and Metellus, all three persons of the highest dignity, and Scipio, in public estimation, the first man in his country. In their reception, and the entertainments which accompanied it, the king displayed all his magnificence, and made professions of unbounded respect¹⁰². Notwithstanding his unwieldy corpulency, he accompanied the commissioners on foot, that they might view the ornaments of the city; on which occasion Scipio, whispered into the ear of the philosopher Panætius, the only friend who attended him in this voyage, "the Egyptians have to thank us for giving their king the exercise of walking¹⁰³". The person of Ptolemy is represented as a fit receptacle for the monstrous mind that inhabited it¹⁰⁴. He was of a short stature, a deformed countenance, and in the enormous trail of his belly resembled rather a hog than a man: his body was of immeasurable compass, and he covered it with garments so thin and transparent, that they seemed only calculated to display his disgusting nakedness¹⁰⁵. Such a king even the Egyptians failed not to contrast with the modesty

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The younger Scipio in Alexandria—his striking contrast with the king. Olymp. clxi. 4. B. C. 138.

⁹⁹ Athenæus, l. ii. p. 71.

¹⁰⁰ Id. l. xiv. p. 654.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁰² Diodorus Excerpt. p. 629.

¹⁰³ Plutarch Apophth.

¹⁰⁴ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549.

¹⁰⁵ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

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The Alexandrians in arms against Physcon, who flies to Cyprus. Olymp. clxii. 3. B. C. 180.

and dignity of Scipio; and the remonstrances of the illustrious Roman seem to have procured for the people, his admirers, a considerable mitigation in their sufferings. But shortly after the strangers had left him, Ptolemy renewed his barbarities. The Alexandrians murmured and began even to threaten resistance. To disarm their vengeance, he caused a sudden massacre of their young men, in the place of public exercise. This enormity inspired the citizens with fury. They flew to arms, attacked and overpowered his mercenaries, and were in hopes of destroying him in the conflagration of his palace, when they learned that, in company with his queen the younger Cleopatra, and his son Memphites by the elder, he had embarked for Cyprus, the most considerable of his dependencies¹⁰⁶.

His repudiated wife Cleopatra mounts the throne.

By the voice of the Alexandrians, which was not opposed in any part of the kingdom, the elder Cleopatra was set on the throne of her abdicated husband. This was an event which Physcon had not foreseen. He doubted not but one of his sons by that princess would have been named for his successor. Memphites the younger he had therefore carried with him to Cyprus. The elder, whose name is unknown, was his viceroy in Cyrene. This unfortunate viceroy was sent for, and landed in Cyprus only to meet the hand of an assassin¹⁰⁷. Upon intelligence of his murder, the Alexandrians testified their rage against the tyrant by destroying his statues; an act which he ascribed to the resentment of the queen regent for the loss of her son. As in this point of maternal affection she had shown herself vulnerable, the monstrous father cut off the head of her younger son Memphites, a boy in his fourteenth year, and inclosed it in a casket, that it might be delivered to the mother on the anniversary of her birthday¹⁰⁸.

He procures the assassination of his elder son, and beheads the younger.

Physcon recovers Egypt notwithstanding-

The horrid present changed a day of rejoicing into melancholy lamentations, which, beginning from the palace, fil-

¹⁰⁶ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix. Orosius, l. v. c. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 602. Valer. Maxim. & Tit. Liv. ibid.

led the city of Alexandria¹⁰⁹. The inhabitants resumed arms under Marsyas, whom the queen had constituted her general, determining with one accord to resist the invasion of Physcon, who, they were informed, had reinforced his armament in Cyprus, and collected a large body of mercenaries in order to recover his capital. These forces landed in Egypt, under Hegelochus, who, having provoked Marsyas to battle, put his army of Alexandrians to the rout, and made captive their commander. In this extremity, however, the queen regent, now shut up in Alexandria, applied to Demetrius II. king of Syria, who had married, as we have seen, her eldest daughter, informing him of the murder of her two sons, and assuring him that if he could bring any considerable body of men into Egypt, he might make himself master of the kingdom. Demetrius complied very unseasonably with this proposal; for his bad government had rendered him odious to the Syrians, and his marriage with Rhodoguna in Parthia had mortally offended his queen. Confident, however, in the strength of his mercenaries, and especially of some bodies of Greeks recently returned from their Parthian warfare, he neglected the rising sedition at home, marched towards the Egyptian frontier, and laid siege to Pelusium¹¹⁰. But before he had gained possession of that key to the country, the citizens of Antioch and Apamea, still infected with the leaven of Tryphon's party¹¹¹, broke out into open rebellion. Lest their example might be followed throughout the kingdom, Demetrius raised the siege of Pelusium, and hastened back into his own dominions; upon intelligence of which movement, the queen regent of Egypt embarked with all her treasures, and sailed¹¹² to Ptolemais in Syria, where her daughter, wife to Demetrius, had long held her residence. By the flight of his rival from Alexandria, Physcon recovered possession of that

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the opposi-
tion of De-
metrius
Nicator.
Olymp.
clxiii. 1.
B. C. 128.¹⁰⁹ Diodor. *ibid.*¹¹⁰ Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* l. xiii. c. 9.

ses primi, duce Tryphone, &c. Tryphon was slain twelve years before.

¹¹¹ This can be the only meaning of Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. Antiochen-¹¹² Joseph. *ibid.*

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capital; the most determined of his opposers had all perished in the field; and, as if he had wished to obliterate the memory of his past cruelties by an act of singular clemency, he pardoned the captive Marsyas, a general taken in arms at the head of his enemies¹¹³.

Physcon
abets
against De-
metrius the
impostor
Alexander
Zebina.
Olymp.
clxiii. 1.
B. C. 128.

Meanwhile, the rebellion, begun in Syria, continued to make progress; although the insurgents most disgusted with the pride and cruelty of Demetrius, had not agreed among themselves whom to substitute in his stead. Amidst their indecision or contrariety, Physcon sent, at the head of a part of the same victorious troops who had recently triumphed in Egypt, a youth, named Alexander Zebina¹¹⁴, in reality son to a broker of Alexandria, but who was instructed to give himself out for the son of Alexander Balas, and therefore grandson to Antiochus Epiphanes, to which branch of the Seleucidæ many Syrians still adhered with the warmth of compassion, or the obstinacy of prejudice. Reinforced by men of this description, and other Syrian malecontents, Zebina met Demetrius in the field. A decisive battle was fought near Damascus. The mercenaries of the king were put to the rout, and, when he himself escaped to Ptolemais, he found the gates of that city shut against him by the two Cleopatras, his wife and mother-in-law. The former was actuated on this occasion by a motive less excusable, as her subsequent behaviour too clearly indicates, than the resentment of offended love. She had borne two sons to Demetrius, just growing into manhood, under whose name, upon the destruction of her husband, she hoped to be called by a party to assume the reins of government. When Demetrius therefore fled from Ptolemais to Tyre, and was still received by the citizens of that place as their sovereign, Cleopatra spared no pains to exasperate the Tyrians against him. Her machinations proved successful. Even respect for Tyrian Hercules, in whose tem-

Demetrius
defeated in
battle and
slain in
Tyre at the
instigation
of his wife
—her
views.
Olymp.
clxiii. 3.
B. C. 126.

¹¹³ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 603.

¹¹⁴ Joseph. *ibid.* Justin, l. xxxix.
c. 1. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Zebina

is a Syrian nickname, denoting a
bought slave. Porphyry. Fragment.
Eusebian.

ple he took refuge¹¹⁵, was unable to save his life, justly forfeited indeed to his injured subjects, but most wickedly destroyed by his wife's profligate ambition¹¹⁶. CHAP.
XXV.

The local circumstances of Syria highly favoured Cleopatra's purposes. A country of mountains, and valleys, and innumerable strongholds, was not to be conquered by the issue of a battle. Though Zebina, who assumed the title of king Alexander II. was master of the field, and had entered into strict alliance¹¹⁷ with Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, yet many fortified cities, now that the odious Demetrius was no more, declared for the legitimate succession of his elder son Seleucus, and spurned the impostor whom Ptolemy Physcon endeavoured to set over them. In this manner the kingdom of Syria came to be divided into two hostile states, which, during five years, balanced each other; one admitting the pretensions of Alexander II. and the other asserting the rights of the sons of Demetrius. The elder of these sons, Seleucus V. had scarcely borne his title a single year, when he was assassinated by the hand of his mother¹¹⁸, to whom too much independence of spirit had rendered him obnoxious. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus VIII. who assumed the epithets of Philometer and Epiphanes¹¹⁹, but who is known in history by his nickname of Grypus, or hooknose¹²⁰. During the first three years of his reign, Grypus maintained the show of unbounded deference for the will of his mother, and cooperated with her, by intrigues rather than arms, against Alexander II. their common enemy. By bribes and promises, Alexander's garrisons were corrupted: his officers deserted; several cities rebelled, particularly the important stronghold Laodiceæ, at the foot of mount Libanus.

Civil war
of five years
in Syria.
Olymp.
clxiii. 3—
clxiv. 3.
B. C. 126—
122.

Seleucus
V. assassi-
nated by
his mother.
Olymp.
clxiii. 4.
B. C. 125.

¹¹⁵ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1.

¹¹⁶ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

¹¹⁷ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 9.

¹¹⁸ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

¹¹⁹ The former epithet appears in Porphyry and Josephus above cited: the latter on coins.

¹²⁰ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. & Joseph. l. xiii. c. 9.

CHAP.
XXV.
Clemency
of Alexan-
der II.
Zebina.

Alexander showed considerable ability in counteracting the machinations of his adversaries; but still more signalized his clemency in pardoning such traitors as the chance of arms, at any time, put into his hands. On regaining Laodiceæ, he spared even Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of his confidential friends who had confederated to betray him. This forgiving disposition proved highly conducive to his affairs. Through love for his mildness and benignity, many, who well knew him for an impostor, were yet zealous to abet his usurpation¹²⁰.

War sud-
denly le-
vied on him
by Ptolemy
Physcon—
his death.
Olymp.
clxiv. 3.
B. C. 122.

The misfortunes of Alexander proceeded from a quarter the least suspected, the same hand which had raised him being suddenly exerted to pull him down. Ptolemy Physcon, with the caprice natural to his character, entered into an alliance with Grypus¹²¹, and gave him in marriage Tryphæna, one of three daughters born to him by his niece Cleopatra. The nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. Tryphæna brought for her dower a reinforcement of her father's mercenaries. Alexander was driven to the necessity of fighting a battle, in which he was intirely forsaken by his good fortune. He fled with a slender train from one city to another, and endeavoured hastily to collect such supplies of money as would procure for him a comfortable retreat in Greece, in which country, then enjoying undisturbed quiet under the government of Rome, he had purposed to lead a life of philosophy and happiness, bidding for ever adieu to the empty pursuits of ambition. But, with a view to this design, he was tempted to lay hold of rich treasures in one of the temples at Antioch. The priests raised the cry of sacrilege. A tumult ensued; Alexander fled precipitately, and, to escape his pursuers, betook himself to unfrequented paths, among which, being encountered by a band of robbers, who recognised him, he ended his life by poison¹²². Thus died Zebina, the

¹²⁰ Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 603.

¹²¹ Physcon found Zebina less subservient to him than he expected; history assigns not any particular

ground of offence.

¹²² He feared, the banditti, to make their own peace, would surrender him to Antiochus. Diodorus Excerpt. p. 604. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 5

son of a broker of Alexandria, who, for nearly six years, had filled the throne of the Seleucidæ: CHAP.
XXV.

The destruction of this rival infused new boldness into Grypus, and determined him to rebel against the haughty dictates of his mother. To cure this wound to her ambition, Cleopatra had recourse to the most nefarious practices. Besides her son by Alexander Balas, slain in childhood by Tryphon, and her two sons by Demetrius II. Nicator, the elder of whom she had murdered, and by the younger of whom she now thought herself slighted, she had a fourth son still remaining, the fruit of her marriage with Antiochus VII. Sidetes; and who, being sent by her for education and security to the republic of Cyzicus in the Propontis, is, from this circumstance, distinguished in history by the epithet Cyzicenus, joined to the hereditary name of Antiochus¹²³. As Cyzicenus was several years younger than his brother Grypus, Cleopatra doubted not to find in him more unbounded compliance with her will; she determined therefore to cut off the one, to make room for the succession of the other. With this execrable purpose, she offered a poisoned cup to Grypus, as he returned warm from exercise. But apprised of the treachery, her son begged leave to pledge her; and when she refused to drink, produced the evidences of her guilt, and forced her to swallow the mortal draught¹²⁴. Thus perished Cleopatra, wife to three kings; the mother also of three, who reigned in her lifetime; and of Cyzicenus, a fourth, who mounted the throne of Antioch eight years after her death.

During this period of eight years, Syria enjoyed profound peace at home and abroad. The limits of the kingdom were indeed greatly contracted, but Antiochus VIII. Grypus, reigned without a rival; and, in this cessation of foreign wars and domestic sedition, distinguished himself only by the luxury of his entertainments and the splendour of his festivals. The games which he celebrated at Daphnè, the Olympia of

Antiochus VIII. Grypus reigns quietly eight years in Syria. Olymp. clxiv. 4—clxvi. 3. B. C. 121—114.

¹²³ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

¹²⁴ Justin, l. xxvix. c. 2. Appian.

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Syria, rivalled those exhibited half a century before his time, by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Grypus had also assumed this boastful title: and, like the first who wore it, is portrayed on his coins under the figure of Jupiter stretching forth garlands of victory. History has handed down the name of Apollonius among the lying flatterers whom he pampered, and that of Diogenes, a philosopher of Babylon, among the unfortunate victims of truth spoken with uncourtly freedom¹²⁵.

Death of
Ptolemy
Physcon—
Intrigues of
his widow
and niece.
Olymp.
clxv. 4.
B. C. 117.

Meanwhile, Cyzicenus, the half brother of Grypus, as he advanced into manhood, became the object of jealousy and persecution. The dangers which he apprehended to his person, seemed to leave him no alternative between a crown and a grave¹²⁶. We know not what resources he might derive from the private inheritance of his father Antiochus Sidetes; but that unfortunate prince, the last of the Seleucidæ who showed any love for glory, had left many partisans in Syria; and the circumstances of a neighbouring kingdom tended at this juncture to reinforce their numbers. Ptolemy Physcon had reigned twenty-nine years in Egypt, without exhausting the patience of his subjects by his bloody tyranny, aggravated by beastly profligacy. He died unmolested in his bed, bequeathing the kingdom of Cyrenè to a natural son, Ptolemy *Apion*¹²⁷, that is, the slender, a nickname directly opposite to that imposed on the *swollen* father. To his queen Cleopatra, Physcon left his kingdom of Egypt, ordering her to associate in the government whichever of her two sons, Lathyrus or Alexander, she thought fit to prefer¹²⁸. The queen had as little maternal feeling as her ruthless sister, whose monstrous cruelties have recently deformed the annals of Syria. But ambition made her prefer the younger of her sons for a partner in power; and to prevent opposition on the side of his brother Lathyrus, she had contrived to send this

¹²⁵ Athenæus.

Bell. Mithridat. c. 121.

¹²⁶ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

¹²⁸ Pausanias, Attic.

¹²⁷ Id. l. xxxix. c. 5. Appian. de

prince, before his father's death, as viceroy into Cyprus, an employment considered by him only as an honourable banishment. The Egyptians, and particularly the citizens of Alexandria, espoused the interest of Lathyrus, and loudly demanded that notwithstanding the capricious destination of Physcon, and the unjust option of Cleopatra, the legitimate heir to their monarchy should be called to govern them. Cleopatra yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and, before consenting to the coronation of Lathyrus, at Memphis, required him to repudiate his present wife, and marry her younger sister¹²⁹. Of these successive wives of Lathyrus, both daughters to Cleopatra, the elder is only known by that appellative common to so many Egyptian females of the royal blood; the other was named Selenè, and being a woman, as will appear from her subsequent history, of singular address and spirit, was probably on that account selected by the queen mother, to whom she was totally devoted, as the fittest instrument for governing the mind of Lathyrus.

With this queen mother, the Jews established in Egypt had long been peculiar favourites. Two individuals of that nation, Chelcias and Ananias¹³⁰, sons to the highpriest of Heliopolis, were her counsellors and generals, and the prime directors in all her affairs. They represented to her that their countrymen in Palæstine, so often insulted by the Syrian kings, were in danger of a new invasion on the part of Antiochus Grypus. To avert this evil, it was necessary to abet the cause of Cyzicenus. The divorced Cleopatra, now useful to the views of her mother, was therefore sent into Syria, to become the bride of that prince, with a body of troops from Cyprus for her dower¹³¹.

Among the first incidents in the warfare which followed, and which is very imperfectly related, Cyzicenus gained possession of Antioch; and, after defeat in an engagement, made good his retreat to that city, in which, as a place of safety, he left his newly married wife. But while he rallied his bro-

CHAP.
XXV.

Ptolemy
Lathyrus.

Cyzicenus
takes the
field
against his
brother
Grypus.
Olymp.
clxiv. 4.
B. C. 113.

Horrid ex-
ecutions of
Cleopatra,
and Try-
phæna res-
pectively
wives to

¹²⁹ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

¹³¹ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

¹³⁰ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

CHAP.
XXV.

the rival
brothers.
Olymp.
clxv. 1.
B. C. 112.

ken forces, Grypus assaulted and recovered Antioch. Tryphæna attended Grypus in this expedition. The eldest daughter of Physcon, Tryphæna, had now at her mercy an aspiring sister, who in marrying a pretender to her husband's throne, had presumed to become her rival. In the rage of wounded pride, she thirsted for Cleopatra's blood; and when Grypus warmly opposed this fell purpose, she thought his expressions keener and stronger than any that *his* cold compassion was likely to dictate. She imperiously demanded that her rival in love as well as in power should be subjected to her vengeance. Her impious orders were more impiously executed; since Cleopatra, being pursued into the most venerated sanctuary of Antioch, her arms, while they clasped the divinity of the place, were hacked in pieces by the ministers of her ruthless sister¹³². The mangled princess expired in imprecations for vengeance against profaned religion and parricidal murder. Her prayer was heard; for shortly afterwards Cyzicenus, having reassembled his forces, gained a decisive victory. Tryphæna was taken in the rout, and sacrificed to the offended manes of Cleopatra¹³³: Grypus retreated to Aspendus in Pamphylia; while his victorious antagonist, under the title of Antiochus IX. Philopater, established his authority over the greater part of Syria¹³⁴.

Cyzicenus
—his vile
amuse-
ments.

His ascendancy in power only displayed the worthlessness of his character. Equally careless of the affairs of war and government, the new king of Syria indulged in the lowest pleasures, and delighted in the basest society. The intervals of gross bodily gratifications were filled up by listening to the jests of buffoons and beholding the tricks of jugglers. Puppets and automata¹³⁵ formed a favourite amusement. His most royal sport was hunting, but even this was

¹³² Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

¹³³ Id. *ibid*.

¹³⁴ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69.
Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 10.

¹³⁵ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 606.
Hero, the scholar of Ctesibius who

lived down to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, composed two books on the subject of Automata.—The skill of philosophers was thus made subservient to the childish amusements of tyrants.

pursued capriciously and vilely. He would often rise in the night, and sally into the field with a few of the meanest attendants. He thus narrowly missed, on repeated occasions, paying the forfeit of his folly to boars or panthers ¹²⁶.

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While Cyzicenus was thus idly employed in Syria, Grypus, in less than twelve months after his retreat, returned from Pamphylia with an army which the proper application of the treasures transported with him rendered numerous and formidable. Such at least it appeared to his brother, who abandoned to him the principal division of the kingdom, and retreated into Cœle-Syria. Grypus, sensible of the difficulty of penetrating into this intricate territory, listened to a compromise founded on a treaty of partition. According to this treaty ¹³⁷, the Greater or Upper Syria, with its capital Antioch, was resigned to Grypus. Cyzicenus was thenceforth to reign at Damascus in Cœle-Syria, two hundred miles distant from the residence of his brother.

Treaty of
partition
between
him and
Grypus.
Olymp.
clxv. 2.
B. C. 111.

The vast dominions of the Seleucidæ had been gradually reduced, as we have seen to a single kingdom. That kingdom was now divided between two hostile brothers, and even their respective shares had suffered great defalcations. In the northern part of the country a distinct state had sprung up in Commagene ¹³⁸, the district contiguous to the Euphrates. On the seacoast, the cities of Tyre and Sidon had resumed their ancient independence ¹³⁹; and, in the South, the Jews, under the bold and able Hyrcanus, were formidable enemies to the new kingdom of Damascus, on the territories of which they had already made deep encroachments. To extend their success to the original limits of the Holy Land, Hyrcanus, in the twenty-sixth year of his administration, sent his two sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, to lay siege to Samaria ¹⁴⁰. This place, long rival to Jerusalem, was now chiefly inhabited by Syrian Greeks, and seemed to

The terri-
tories of
the bro-
thers cur-
tailed by
their neigh-
bours.

¹²⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 607.

¹³⁷ Josephus, l. xxx. c. 10. & Porphyry. Fragment. Eusebian.

¹³⁸ Appian de Bell. Mithridat.

¹³⁹ The *αὐτονομία* attested on medals.

¹⁴⁰ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

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XXV.

Siege and
capture of
Samaria.
Olymp.
clxvii. 4.
B. C. 109.

Aristobu-
lus king of
the Jews.
Olymp.
clxviii. 2.
B. C. 107.

Ptolemy
VIII. La-
thyus de-
throned by
the cruel
artifices of
his mother.
Olymp.
clxviii. 3.
B. C. 106.

Antiochus Cyzicenus the firmest bulwark of the possessions still remaining to his family in Palæstine. He therefore hastened to the defence of Samaria, but being defeated in battle, he implored the aid of his neighbour Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Egypt conjointly with his mother. Lathyrus, without consulting that princess, sent to him a reinforcement of six thousand men. But this succour not answering his expectation, he retired impatiently to Tripolis, leaving his forces under the command of Callimander and Epicrates, of whom the former was slain, and the latter corrupted. Through the treachery of Epicrates, Scythopolis and other strongholds fell into the hands of the Jews. Samaria surrendered after standing a year's siege¹⁴¹. Its inhabitants were enslaved; the city was desolated and demolished; and the Jews thus obtaining secure possession of the neighbouring territory, Aristobulus, who in little more than twelve months succeeded to his father Hyrcanus as highpriest, assumed the royal diadem, and was the first king that reigned in Palæstine in the course of nearly five centuries after the sad era of Babylonish captivity¹⁴². His dominions did not intirely comprehend the three districts of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, since several cities on the seacoast which, amidst the distractions of Syria, had thrown off the yoke of that kingdom, either erected themselves into republics, or submitted to domestic tyrants. In the number of the former Ptolemais deserves particular mention, on account of transactions which will presently be related.

The assistance which Lathyrus had afforded against the Jews, provoked much resentment in his mother. She determined to precipitate him from the throne, and to advance in his stead her younger son Alexander, then governing in Cyprus. For accomplishing this design, she had recourse to a stratagem equally cruel and perfidious. Her eunuchs sallied from the palace of Alexandria streaming with blood and imploring the aid of the citizens against Lathyrus, "whom,

¹⁴¹ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.¹⁴² Ibid. c. 13.

at the price of their wounds, they had hardly been able to restrain from the crime of parricide." An insurrection followed; the palace was assaulted; Lathyrus, informed of his danger from the enraged multitude, secretly escaped by sea, while his brother, as had previously been concerted, arrived from Cyprus, and took on him the government ¹⁴³.

The revolution in his favour had been effected, however, merely through the deluded passions of the capital, and was not generally abetted either by the state or army. Lathyrus having sailed to Cyprus, was acknowledged in that island; and the forces sent to reduce him, immediately came over to his party. Master of Cyprus, and of an army thirty thousand strong, he watched an opportunity of returning by force into Egypt. Under these circumstances Aristobulus king of the Jews, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus, who determined to reduce the independent cities on his seacoast. He began by besieging Ptolemais. The citizens of that place, while they availed themselves of the strength of their walls, looked around for foreign assistance. The Syrian brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus had renewed hostilities with each other, and neither of them could be expected to befriend Ptolemais, which had revolted from their family. In Egypt Cleopatra, who allowed to her son Alexander only the name of king, considered the interests of the Jews as her own. Some feeble aid might be afforded to Ptolemais from Sidon and Gaza, cities which had formed themselves into republics, and from Dora and Cæsarea, then called the tower of Straton; which two places, under a chief named Zoilus, had asserted independence, and were resolved to maintain it against both Jews and Syrians. But the chief hopes of the besieged city rested in Ptolemy Lathyrus, who, upon the first invitation, sailed with a powerful armament to its relief. The magnitude, however, of this armament, rendered its assistance suspicious; and Demæne-

CHAP.
XXV.

Ptolemy
IX. Alex-
ander.

Lathyrus
still master
of a great
army.
Olymp.
clxviii. 3.
B. C. 106

He is invit-
ed into
Syria to
oppose the
army of the
Jews.
Olymp.
clxviii. 4.
B. C. 150.

¹⁴³ Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

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tus, a favourite demagogue, assured his fellow citizens, that, on pretence of defending Ptolemais against the king of the Jews, Lathyrus had come with no other view than that of conquering it for himself. Upon his arrival on the coast, the Jewish army had raised the siege; but the gates of the city were kept shut against its deliverer. Stung with this affront, Lathyrus embraced the hostile resolution that had been unwarrantably ascribed to him. One part of his army he left to besiege Ptolemais, while the other, which he commanded in person, marched against the king of the Jews ¹⁴⁴.

Battle of
Asochis—
horrid mas-
sacre suc-
ceeding it.
Olymp.
clix. 1.
B. C. 104.

To this latter measure he was instigated by Zoilus, styled tyrant of Dora, and by the citizens of Gaza; and further stimulated by the treachery of the Jewish king, who, while he implored peace from Lathyrus, secretly negotiated a war against him with Cleopatra, his mother and most relentless enemy. But this perfidy recoiled on the traitor. Lathyrus pursued him into Galilee, ravaged that district, took and plundered Asochis, and totally defeated the collected forces of the Jews in a great battle on the banks of the Jordan. The conqueror urged his advantage with bloodthirsty vengeance against a people peculiarly obnoxious to him. Thirty thousand, another report says fifty thousand Jews, perished in the rout; and the blunted weapons of the pursuers dropped from their wearied hands before they hearkened to the cries for quarter. Even the harmless villages on the Jordan, teeming with women and children, escaped not the merciless havoc. Lathyrus ordered them to be desolated with shocking, and almost incredible, circumstances of cruelty ¹⁴⁵.

Ptolemais
successive-
ly besieged
by three
mutually
hostile
armies.

Meanwhile, Cleopatra had assembled a great army under the Jews Chelcias and Ananias, her favourites and generals, that they might march to the assistance of their countrymen. She herself sailed to Ptolemais, still besieged by part of the forces of Lathyrus. Her arrival caused the siege to be raised; but the Ptolemæans, as suspicious of Cleopatra as

¹⁴⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Id. *ibid*.

under like circumstances they had formerly been of her son, refused to open their gates to this new deliverer. Cleopatra, with the assistance of Ananias, determined to vanquish their obstinacy. Ptolemais was blocked up by sea, and invested by land¹⁴⁶; so that in the course of three years the same city was assailed by three mutually hostile armies.

Another division of the queen's forces marched under Chelcias to the encounter of Lathyrus. But the Jewish general dying in this expedition, Lathyrus availed himself of the confusion or despondency thereby produced in the enemy, to advance hastily towards Egypt, hoping to find its frontier garrisons so much drained by the forces sent into Palæstine, that they would be unable to resist him. Being disappointed, however, in this expectation, he thought proper, before his mother's forces could resume a position for intercepting him, to return towards Gaza, and to throw his army for the winter into that friendly stronghold. Meanwhile Ptolemais surrendered to Cleopatra. Her hostile son had not ventured to keep the field. She was absolute mistress in Palæstine. Alexander Jannæus came to her with his presents, thanking her for the deliverance which she had wrought for him, and craving the continuance of her protection. On this occasion, Cleopatra's Greek courtiers exhorted her to seize the person of the Jewish king, and to take possession of his country. But the influence of Ananias¹⁴⁷ prevented her from listening to advice, with which, odious and infamous as it was, Cleopatra might easily have complied without disgracing her character. Having concluded a treaty with Alexander, she continued in Palæstine to watch the motions of her son, nor thought of reentering Egypt until that prince had sailed for Cyprus.

Upon her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra treated her younger son Alexander with such indignity, that he fled secretly from her presence, determining thenceforward rather

CHAP.
XXV.

Surrenders
to Cleopa-
tra. Olymp.
clxix. 3.
B. C. 102.

Ptolemy
IX. Alex-
ander abdi-
cates.
Olymp.
clxix. 4.
B. C. 101.

¹⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

CHAP.
XXV.

The designs of Lathyrus and Cyzicenus defeated by female management.

Ptolemy IX. reinstated by his mother. Olymp. clxix. 4. B. C. 101.

Ptolemy Apion bequeathes Cyrene to the Romans. Olymp. clxx. 4. B. C. 97.

to lead a private life in exile, than to bear the empty name of king in his native country¹⁴⁸. About the same time she learned that a common enmity to the Jews had occasioned a close friendship between Lathyrus and Antiochus Cyzicenus. A treaty was in fact concluded between these princes at Damascus, by which the former was to be assisted by the whole disposable force of the latter, in a new attempt to reenter the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the cruel artifices of his mother. To ward off this blow, Cleopatra sent into Syria her daughter Selenè, the wife whom she had first forced on Lathyrus, and of whom she had afterwards as forcibly deprived him. This princess, a dexterous and ready instrument of Cleopatra's ambition, was to marry Grypus, the perpetual rival of Cyzicenus, and by exciting a new war between the brothers, to create such troublesome employment for the younger in Syria, as should prevent him from assisting Lathyrus in his projected invasion of Egypt¹⁴⁹. The intrigue succeeded to Cleopatra's wish, and Lathyrus' enterprise was again disconcerted. But his mother, as she saw the Alexandrians, the most unruly portion of her subjects, unwilling to obey her government, unless supported by one or other of her sons, was reduced to the necessity of recalling the younger from his voluntary abdication¹⁵⁰. He yielded with reluctance to the conditions with which she flattered him; foreseeing that he should be again mortified by affronts or encompassed by dangers.

Amidst increasing disorders in Egypt and Syria, Ptolemy Apion died childless at Cyrene. He was on the father's side brother to Lathyrus and Alexander; but the animosities between these princes, their odious or contemptible characters, and the profligate ambition of their mother Cleopatra, who tyrannized over the one after persecuting and expelling the other, made Apion overlook the claims of both, in the destination of his kingdom. By a formal testament,

¹⁴⁸ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Justin, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxviii.

he declared the Romans his heirs, as the ancient or most respectable allies of Egypt, of which Cyrenè, since its conquest by the first Ptolemy, had been regarded as a dependency. The Romans, still stunned by the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri, and soon afterwards called to engage in the Mar-sic and Mithridatic wars, did not think proper for twenty years to avail themselves of this bequest in their favour, otherwise than by declaring the Cyreneans a free people, exempt from every foreign jurisdiction, and subject only to such regulations as might best suit and please them¹⁵¹. In consequence of this measure, dissensions arose between the capital Cyrenè and the four other communities originally forming the Pentapolis, at the same time that each city and district in the country became a prey to domestic factions. To remove these evils, the Romans, as we shall see, at a time more convenient, reduced Cyrenaica into a province.

Antiochus Grypus had not been long united to Selenè, when he reaped the bitter fruits of that marriage in renewed hostilities with his brother. He was assassinated soon after by Heracleon, a vain courtier, who, intoxicated with the honours heaped on him, aspired to supplant his master¹⁵². But Cyzicenus hastened to Antioch, and, for a moment, joined that kingdom to his own of Damascus. His pretensions were speedily disputed by his nephews, the five sons of Grypus, the eldest of whom, under the name of Seleucus VI. Nicator, challenged him to battle, and obtained a decisive victory. Cyzicenus either perished in the-combat¹⁵³, or was slain after it by orders of the conqueror¹⁵⁴; or, according to another report, died by his own hands¹⁵⁵, unable to brook his disgraceful defeat by so young a prince, against whose father he had sustained an equal warfare for the space of eighteen years.

Murder of
Grypus.
Olymp.
clxx. 4.
B. C. 97.

Death of
Cyzicenus.
Olymp.
clxxi. 2.
B. C. 95.

¹⁵¹ Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. & Plutarch in Lucull.

Antiq. l. xiii. c. 13.

¹⁵³ Id. ibid.

¹⁵² Porphy. Fragment. Trogi Pomp. Prolog. l. xl. Conf. Josephus

¹⁵⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

¹⁵⁵ Porphy. Fragment.

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XXV.

The war
continued
between
their re-
spective
sons.

Seleucus
VI. burned
to death.
Olymp.
elxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

Antiochus
XI. drown-
ed in the
Orońtes.
Olymp.
elxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

Antiochus Cyzicenus left only one son, who, from his zeal and success in avenging his father's death, is entitled Antiochus X. Eusebes¹⁵⁶. Through the boldness of a courtesan, enamoured of his beauty, he escaped the dangers to which the victory of Seleucus exposed him. The partisans of his family, and the money which, according to the Syrian custom, had been placed in deposit for his use, made him master of Apamea, and drew to him an army with which, in his first battle, he had the good fortune completely to vanquish his adversary, and to drive him into ignominious flight towards the mountains of Cilicia. In an unseasonable attempt to extort money from Mopsuesta, a Cilician city, which still acknowledged a loose dependence on the Syrian monarchy, the fugitive Seleucus provoked a conspiracy of the citizens, and, either perished by his own hand¹⁵⁷, or was burned to death with his attendants in a gymnasium or palace, which, upon his first coming to Mopsuesta, had been generously assigned for his dwelling¹⁵⁸.

When Seleucus thus perished, two of his brothers, Antiochus and Philip, twins, were on the northern frontiers of Syria; and two younger brothers remained, according to the usage of their country, in safe custody at Cnidus, that they might escape the dangers of the times. The twins, to their respective names of Antiochus XI. and Philip I., added the common epithets of Epiphanes and Philadelphus, and thus united in titles of honour as they had been in their birth, prepared to assert a joint sovereignty over their paternal dominions. Their first care was to avenge the cruel death of their brother on the incendiaries of Mopsuesta. With forces hastily collected from the remains of his scattered army, they marched into Cilicia, surprised Mopsuesta, massacred the inhabitants, and, to satiate their undistinguishing rage, spent much precious time in rasing the obnoxious city¹⁵⁹. After this fruitless exploit, they joined their par-

¹⁵⁶ The pious, viz. towards his father.

¹⁵⁷ Porphy. Fragment. Eusebian.

¹⁵⁸ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13. Appian de Reb. Syr. c. 69.

¹⁵⁹ Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac c. 69, 70. Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

tisans in Syria, and, soon coming to a battle with their adversary, Antiochus X. Eusebes, were defeated on the banks of the Orontes. In passing that river on horseback, Antiochus XI. one of the twins, was drowned¹⁶⁰; the fourth king of Syria that had suffered violent or accidental death, in the course of less than five years.

His brother Philip made a skilful retreat, and was enabled by the following occurrence again to take the field. Antiochus Eusebes had taken to his bed Selenè, formerly wife to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who considered the new espousals of this princess as an affront to himself. To revenge it, he drew from his retreat in Cnidus, Demetrius, the fourth of the brothers, and enabled him to take possession of Damascus, where he assumed the diadem under the title of Demetrius III. Eucærus¹⁶¹, an epithet denoting the seasonableness of his appearance in arms. The alliance of the two brothers rendered them more than a match for Antiochus Eusebes, their common enemy. He was compelled to cross the Euphrates, and to crave protection from the Parthians, who, under the great Mithridates II. had extended their conquests to the eastern bank of that river. Through their powerful interposition, Antiochus Eusebes triumphed in his turn over the brothers now unhappily disunited, and Demetrius III. being made prisoner by a Parthian general, was carried into the upper provinces of that empire, where he died in captivity¹⁶².

The commotions in Syria however were not yet at an end; for the last of the five Syrian brothers, afterwards styled in history Antiochus XII. Dionysus, upon learning Demetrius' detention in the East, asserted his right of succession to the vacant throne of Damascus. The favour of the citizens and other inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, enabled him to maintain this pretension for two years against his cousin german Antiochus Eusebes, against his brother Philip, and against the rapacious Arabs in his neighbourhood, who had been long lying in wait to grasp the spoils of an op-

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XXV.

Philip I.
and Demetrius III.
Eucærus.
Olymp.
clxxii. 1.
B. C. 92.

Demetrius III. carried
into Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

Antiochus XII. Dionysus.

¹⁶⁰ Porphy. Fragment.

¹⁶¹ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

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¹⁶² Conf. Joseph. *ibid.* & Excerpt.

ex Histor. Niccol. Damasc.

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XXV.

Killed in
battle with
the Arabs.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 4.
B. C. 85.

Annexa-
tion of
Syria to
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxiv.
B. C. 84.

Ptolemy
IX. Alex-
ander mur-
ders his
mother.
Olymp.
clxxii. 4.
B. C. 89.

pressed and distracted kingdom¹⁶³. At the end of this period, Antiochus XII. Dionysus, having forced his way through Palæstine in spite of the opposition of Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews, fell in a desperate battle with the Arabs: most of his followers were cut in pieces¹⁶⁴: and the natives of Cœle-Syria despairing of protection from Antiochus Eusebes, or from Philip, still engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, called to the throne of Damascus, Aretas¹⁶⁵, an Arab chief, who had benefited by his long residence in the neighbourhood of Syria, to make acquirements in arts and letters, extremely rare among his Nabathæan countrymen¹⁶⁶.

Moved by this example, the inhabitants of Antioch and other Syrian cities, long weary of the crimes and calamities of the Seleucidæ, began to look around for some foreign dynasty, more able to defend, and more worthy to govern them. An attentive review, as will be shown presently, of the state of neighbouring powers, made them choose for their protector and sovereign Tigranes king of Armenia¹⁶⁷. Amidst the disorders immediately preceding this election, Philip I. should seem to have perished, since his name thenceforth disappears from history. Antiochus Eusebes saved himself by flight, and continued to lurk in an obscure corner of Cilicia¹⁶⁸. His queen Selenè, of a bolder spirit, occupied some strongholds in Commagene. The troops and treasures with which she was accompanied, enabled her to defend her possessions for a dozen years, and to educate in splendour two sons, whose history will afterwards be related¹⁶⁹.

Shortly before Syria thus passed from the dominion of the Seleucidæ, a new tragedy in Egypt reinstated Ptolemy Lathyrus in the throne. His brother Alexander grew weary of holding the bare name of king, while Cleopatra usurped the

¹⁶³ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 14.

¹⁶⁵ Id. c. 15. Conf. Strab. l. xvi. p. 751.

¹⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xvi.

p. 581.

¹⁶⁷ Justin, l. xl. c. 1. Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 48.

¹⁶⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

sovereignty. That princess perceived his impatience of submission, and in order to punish it, determined to have recourse to measures familiar to her age and family. But while she hesitated between the bowl and the dagger, Alexander anticipated, by the latter, her fell purpose¹⁷⁰. Her murder was no sooner known than the Alexandrians flew to arms. Cleopatra was deserving of many deaths, but she ought not to have fallen by the hand of her son. That son too, it was said, as he resembled in person the abominable Physcon, had shown that, if successor to his power, he would rival his monstrous tyranny. Apprised of the vengeance which threatened him, Alexander fled beyond seas; and Lathyrus was recalled from Cyprus, to take on him the government. He had hardly resumed it, when his expelled brother having possessed himself of much treasure, which their common mother and grandmother had deposited against future emergencies in the secure island of Cos, collected a mercenary armament, and made successive and equally fruitless attempts for reentering Egypt and Cyprus. Alexander was pursued by Lathyrus' fleets under Tyrrhus and Chæreas, and finally captured and slain by the latter of these commanders¹⁷¹.

From this time forward Lathyrus reigned five years undisturbed by foreign or domestic enemies, until the last scene in his administration was deformed by a rebellion of the ancient capital Thebes, and of the once imperial nome or district surrounding it. By the removal of the seat of government, first to Memphis, three hundred and fifty miles north of Thebes, and afterwards to Alexandria on the seacoast, the great primeval metropolis of Egypt had been gradually falling to decay. What the hand of time carried on slowly and insensibly, the havoc of war now suddenly completed. After enduring a desperate siege for three years, Thebes was taken by the enraged conqueror, and by him stripped of

¹⁷⁰ Pausanias, Attic. c. 9. Athenus, l. xii. p. 550. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

¹⁷¹ Porphyry. Fragment. Græc. Eusebian.

Is slain in a war with his brother Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus. Olymp. clxxiii. 2. B. C. 87.

His subsequent reign. Olymp. clxxiii. 2—clxxiv. 3. B. C. 87—82.

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His daughter Berenice married to Alexander II. Olymp. clxxiv. 4. B. C. 81.

every removable monument of its ancient grandeur¹⁷². This is the last recorded event in the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Soter nicknamed Lathyrus¹⁷³, it is thought, from a mole resembling the lathyrus or vetch, on his face. He died, bequeathing the isle of Cyprus to a natural son, known only by the common appellation of Ptolemy, and leaving Berenicè, his sole legitimate offspring, to inherit his kingdom of Egypt. The reign of Berenicè had scarcely lasted six months, when Sylla, the Roman dictator, gave¹⁷⁴ her a husband and a murderer in Alexander II. her cousin german, the son of that Alexander who had been the supplanter, the antagonist, and finally the victim of her father Lathyrus. Three years before Sylla set this vassal on the throne of Egypt, the Syrians, as we have seen, had submitted to Tigranes king of Armenia. Thenceforward the pure Greek kingdoms, and even the Greek commonwealths of the East, in respect of any real independence, might be regarded as extinct: but a memorable war of twenty-seven years¹⁷⁵ had begun in the peninsula of Asia, which was to decide whether the Romans, or a new power, half Grecian and half barbarous, that had hastily sprung up on the Euxine, should be master of Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Achaia; in a word, of all the dominions of the great Alexander on this side the Euphrates.

State of arts and letters.

The period of fifty years preceding this obstinate conflict, was an age of weakness and disgrace, rather than of positive or general misery. The rancorous animosities among the Greek kings proved ruinous to themselves, and those partisans who abetted them from personal interest, unmixed with the smallest infusion of public principle. Their hostilities, whether foreign or domestic, were carried on by small bodies of men raised among their immediate dependents. Cities were defended against them by their walls, and temples protected by their sanctity. Their petty wars suspended not the labours of agriculture, nor interrupted the operations of

¹⁷² Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

102.

¹⁷³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. N. H. l. ii. c. 67.

¹⁷⁵ Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 26. He says thirty years, in round numbers

¹⁷⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c.

commerce: the native productions of the soil every where abounded, and farfetched objects of luxury were diffused through the most remote parts of the empire: so that the last unworthy races of Alexander's successors, while they lost much territory and many subjects, should seem to have been incapacitated, by their unworthiness itself, from inflicting deep wounds on the countries still acknowledging their authority. The inhabitants of these countries still prosecuted arts, sciences, and letters; and their Greek kings, contemptible in other respects, still encouraged them in this favourite career, congenial to their name and nation. Physcon, the worst of all the Ptolemies, studied so assiduously¹⁷⁶ under the grammarian Aristarchus, that he himself deserved the name of Philologer¹⁷⁷. He wrote twenty-four books of historical commentaries. His name is numbered among the critics who laboured on the text of Homer¹⁷⁸; and he spared no pains to enrich the Alexandrian library with the most authentic and correct manuscripts that could possibly be procured. This laudable undertaking, however, was disgraced by the capricious tyranny natural to his character. All ships arriving in his dominions were searched: the books found in them were seized¹⁷⁹: copies were made by the king's transcribers, and given in return for the detained originals, which were carefully deposited in the Serapeon, a library which Physcon is thought to have founded¹⁸⁰ in the noble temple of Serapis¹⁸¹. From the Athenians, Physcon obtained the works of their three great tragic poets, upon depositing a pledge of fifteen talents, that the same manuscripts should be restored to them: he disgracefully forfeited his pledge¹⁸², about three thousand pounds in value. This zeal for augmenting his library was heightened by rivalry with Eumenes II. of

¹⁷⁶ Athenæus, l. xxiv. p. 654.

¹⁷⁷ Epiphan. de Ponder. & Mensur. p. 182.

¹⁷⁸ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549. & l. xiii. p. 576.

¹⁷⁹ These books he distinguished by the inscription, *ἐκ πλοίων*, "from ships." Galen. Comment. ad Epi-

dem. Hippocrat. l. ii. c. 23.

¹⁸⁰ It was long posterior to the library of Bruchion, and called fantastically its daughter. See above, vol. i. p. 486.

¹⁸¹ See above, vol. i. p. 498.

¹⁸² Galen. & Epiphan. ubi supra.

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Pergamus¹⁸³. To prevent that prince from multiplying his volumes, Ptolemy forbade the exportation of papyrus from Egypt: the invention of parchment in Pergamus was the fruit of this invidious prohibition¹⁸⁴.

Historians. Under princes so careful about the works of the ancients, contemporary authors abounded, whose names are incidentally mentioned by Strabo, chiefly, and Athenæus, but of whose merit there is no longer an opportunity to judge. The class of travellers¹⁸⁵ and geographers¹⁸⁶ was particularly numerous: there were also historians of their own times, whose loss is deeply to be regretted. Chance has preserved, from the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, three books of the mythological library of Apollodorus of Athens; but his contemporary, Apollodorus of Artemita, had treated of the Parthians and Bactrians¹⁸⁷; Artemidorus of Ephesus, and Menecrates of Nysa, had illustrated the history of Bithynia¹⁸⁸: the same subjects were discussed more elaborately by the great Posidonius of Rhodes¹⁸⁹: All these works have perished; and with them much interesting information concerning nations and countries of great relative importance in the age in which those historians flourished.

Poets.

For reasons formerly assigned, eloquence, truly Attic¹⁹⁰, was little cultivated or known: but good taste in poetry was not yet extinct, as appears from the idyls or little poems of Moschus and Bion, breathing love and pleasure, beautiful throughout, and adorned with many touches of exquisite delicacy. Moschus, as well as Ptolemy Physcon, was a disciple of Aristarchus¹⁹¹: his young friend Bion died before

¹⁸³ Reges Attalici cum egregiam bibliothecam ad communem delectationem instituissent, tunc item Ptolemæas infinito zelo, &c. Vitruvius de Architect. l. vii. in Præfat. Conf. Plin. l. xiii. c. 11. Mox æmulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi & Eumenis, &c.

¹⁸⁴ Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

¹⁸⁵ By sea as well as land: witness the innumerable περιπλοι. See above,

vol. ii. p. 124.

¹⁸⁶ Mnaseas of Patra, Demetrius et Metrodorus of Scepsis, &c. Strabo, Plin. Stephan. de Urb. et Athenæus passim.

¹⁸⁷ Strabo, l. xi. p. 516.

¹⁸⁸ Plutarch in Theseo. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi.

¹⁸⁹ Athenæus passim.

¹⁹⁰ See above, vol. ii. p. 125.

¹⁹¹ Suidas et Euseb. in Chronic.

him, and Moschus laments his premature loss in strains equally pathetic and poetical. In the succeeding reign, Sositheus¹⁹² carried off the palm of tragedy: Anaxipolis¹⁹³ was admired in comedy: other Greek poets perpetuated their delightful art in much perfection down to the Augustan age; witness Parthenius of Nicæa, the master of Virgil¹⁹⁴, and whose lost work, under the same Greek title, is said to have given birth to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid¹⁹⁵.

The cultivators of arts and sciences were scattered over innumerable cities in the three divisions of the world. But Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria maintained a decided pre-eminence. The literary glory of Athens resulted chiefly from the still subsisting schools of Plato and Aristotle¹⁹⁶. Rhodes was renowned for the stoic Panætius, the companion, as we have seen, of Scipio Æmilianus, in his embassy to Egypt, and whose lost work on "Offices" Cicero professes to imitate¹⁹⁷. Apollonius, also of Rhodes, was the most distinguished scholar of Panætius¹⁹⁸; and Posidonius, a native of the same city, in which he continued to reside, was the greatest ornament of the following age, as a stoic philosopher, an historian, and a geometer¹⁹⁹.

Geometry, and the branches of knowledge depending on it, are those stubborn sciences which cannot easily recede; they greatly flourished in Rhodes and in Alexandria. Nor was Athens unwilling to exchange the fame of eloquence for that of geometry, even before she had been confounded and degraded, with other Greek cities, into the form of a Roman province. Archimedes' two noblest treatises²⁰⁰ are dedicated

¹⁹² Suidas ad Voc.

¹⁹³ Plin. l. xiv. c. 14.

¹⁹⁴ Macrobius, Saturn. l. v. c. 17. Conf. Aulus Gellius, l. xiii. c. 26.

¹⁹⁵ The *αλλοιωσις* of Antigonius should seem to have been a work of the same nature.

¹⁹⁶ By means of these schools, propriety of sentiment and good taste in writing was better upheld in Athens than in any other Greek city. Cicero de Fin. l. v. c. 3. et seq.

¹⁹⁷ Cicero de Offic. passim.

¹⁹⁸ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 65.

¹⁹⁹ Suidas ad Voc. Conf. Cicero de Natur. Deorum, l. ii. c. 34, 35. et Lucian. in Macrob.

* ²⁰⁰ "On the sphere and cylinder, and "on spiral lines." These admirable treatises inscribed to one friend, contain investigations left imperfect by the premature death of another. This was Conon of Samos, whom Archimedes again praises in his *Quadrature of the Parabola*, and of whom we have above, spoken vol. ii. p. 226.

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to Dositheus a young mathematician of Athens. This Dositheus forms the link between Eudoxus and Hipparchus, of whom we shall speak presently, as an improver of astronomy; while his contemporary, Apollonius of Perga²⁰¹, acquired the title of the great geometer²⁰², a title which the ingenuity and subtlety displayed in his conic sections will be found amply to justify. Hipparchus, who closely followed Dositheus and Apollonius, made observations in his native city Nicæa in Bithynia; at Rhodes²⁰³, capital of that island; and especially at Alexandria; during the reigns of the Ptolemæan brothers Philometer and Physcon, from the 154th to the 163d Olympiad²⁰⁴. In Hipparchus, indeed, the Alexandrian school may be said to have reached its highest glory. He greatly improved the system of excentric spheres first proposed by Eudoxus; and Pliny says, though probably with much exaggeration²⁰⁵, that he predicted the courses and aspects of the sun and moon for 600 years. For determining precisely the length of the solar year, he chose one of his own observations of the summer solstice, compared with a similar observation of Aristarchus of Samos made 145 years before. He found that the solstice came round twelve hours sooner than it ought to have done, on the received supposition that the year contained 365 days 6 hours. This palpable precession of the equinox in point of time, he divided among the sun's 145 annual revolutions, and thereby reduced the duration of the solar year by the space of five minutes²⁰⁶: an ingenious method still of universal use in astronomy. This precession of the equinox in time, or *retrocession*²⁰⁷ of the equinoctial points in space, he ascribed to a con-

²⁰¹ Pappus Mathemat. Collect. l. vii. p. 251.

²⁰² Proclus et Pappus, l. vi. & Phot. Biblioth. p. 190.

²⁰³ Suidas and Strabo.

²⁰⁴ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. iii. c. 2.

²⁰⁵ N. H. l. ii. c. 26. His whole encomium is hyperbolical and gigantic. "Hipparchus performed a task that would have been daring in a god: he bequeathed to his succes-

sors an inheritance in the heavens: none has so well proved the congeniality of man with the sublimest objects in nature, and that the human mind is an emanation of the divine."

²⁰⁶ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. ubi supra.

²⁰⁷ So called the motion being from east to west, that is, contrary to the order of the signs of the Zodiac.

trary motion of the firmament from west to east, and treated of this phenomenon in his famous work, now lost, on the falling back²⁰⁸ of the equinoctial and solstitial points. To these important discoveries he is said to have been led by the appearance, in his time, of a new star. This suggested to him the inquiry, whether the firmament underwent variations in its fabric; towards the solution of which question, he determined to ascertain the number and position of the stars, and to leave a complete picture of the heavens for the contemplation of posterity. This picture was delineated by him on a solid sphere, which should seem to have been left by Hipparchus in the Museum of Alexandria²⁰⁹, with a projection of it on a plain surface, as more convenient than a large globe for examination and conveyance²¹⁰. His success in numbering the stars is mentioned with raptures, by a writer zealous for the fame, but too inattentive to the labours of this great astronomer²¹¹. In making his catalogue of the stars, Hipparchus described their relative position in the heavens according to their distances in degrees from two great circles of the sphere. This happy contrivance he transferred from astronomy to geography²¹²; and first described the habitable earth by the degrees of longitude and latitude, according to the method now universally adopted. He was the inventor also of trigonometry²¹³, but indefatigable in labour, passionately fond of truth²¹⁴, he was not overhasty in digesting his numerous works; so that the glory both of his astronomy and geography was reaped at the distance of three centuries, by his great follower

²⁰⁸ Περὶ τῆς μεταπτώσεως τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ ἰσημερινῶν σημείων. Syntax. Magn. l. ii. c. 2. By comparing Hipparchus' observations with his own, Ptolemy found the precession of the equinoxes in the space of 265 years. He therefore concluded their movement to be 1° in 100 years; but the doctrines of Ptolemy are well known, and fall not within the limits of the present work.

²⁰⁹ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. vii. c. 1.

²¹⁰ Synesius de Don. Astrolog. inter Oper. Synthetic.

²¹¹ Plin l. ii. c. 12. and 26.

²¹² Strabo, l. i. p. 7. Conf. l. ii. p. 131. Neither Strabo, nor Pliny, who speaks so highly of Hipparchus, adopted his clear and concise mode of geographical description.

²¹³ Theon. Comment. Synt. Magn. l. i. c. 9.

²¹⁴ Syntax. Magn. passim. & l. iii. c. 2.

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Ptolemy, in the mathematical school of Alexandria²¹⁵. Of the intermediate mathematicians²¹⁶ between these luminaries of science, we have very imperfect accounts; for the Greek, and still more the Roman writers, from whom such biography might have been expected, were exclusively attentive to ethics and politics, to arms and eloquence²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ Agathem. Epitom. Geograph. l. i. c. 6. and Proclus Hypotyp. Astron. posit. The only work of Hipparchus, now remaining, is his commentary in three books on the Phenomena of Aratus. It is entitled, "On the Phenomena of Eudoxus and Aratus," the reason for which see above, vol. ii. p. 111.

²¹⁶ The name even of Hipparchus does not occur either in Seneca or in Plutarch, though the former might have been expected to speak of him in his "Natural Questions," and the latter in his "Sentiments of Philosophers concerning Nature." Cicero names Hipparchus but once, and that casually as an opposer of Eratosthenes's Geography. Epist. ad Attic. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Strabo, l. i. p. 7. The Romans, as

Cicero says, Tusculan. l. i. c. 1. confined their study in mathematics to such operations of measuring and numbering as were indispensable in the affairs of ordinary life.

²¹⁷ The age of Geminus, author of the Element. Astronom., is uncertain: Sosigenes, as we shall see, enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Calendar; Theodosius, noticed by Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. and Vitruv. l. ix. c. 9. has left Mathematical Elements of Spherical Astronomy; still the classic book on the subject. Two less important treatises ascribed to him, *περί νυκτων και ημερων*, and *περί οικισμων*, contain geometrical demonstrations of the different phenomena resulting from differences of local habitation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Political state of Asia. Four Powers interposed between the Romans and Parthians. Mithridates Eupator. First Stages of his Reign. Sylla's Embassy. Nicomedes III. of Bithynia. He plunders the Greek Cities on the Euxine. Forbearance of Mithridates. His Treaty with Tigranes of Armenia. Success in all Parts of the Peninsula. Massacre of the Romans there. Sylla takes Athens. Defeats the Pontic Generals in Greece. Concludes Peace with Mithridates. Triumphs over his domestic enemies.

A CENTURY before the Christian era, the political state of Asia, and still more the characters of those who bore sway in that continent, announced a long and fierce conflict, likely to be maintained by no less obstinacy of emulation than vigour of military resources. In the vast tract of territory between the Euphrates and the Indus, Mithridates II. of Parthia having restored and consolidated a powerful empire, reposed on his laurels at Hecatompylos in an honourable old age, and with the title of Great, which foreigners as well as natives bestowed on him¹. At the western extremity of Asia Minor, the Romans had for thirty years been masters of the kingdom of Pergamus, but had been prevented from greatly extending their dominion eastward, by the seditions of the Gracchi², a war of five years with Jugurtha³, the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri⁴, not to mention the necessity of perpetual operations on the side of Macedon against the untamed Thracians and Illyrians, and perpetual warfare in Spain against

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Political
state of
Asia, and
characters
of its sove-
reigns.
Olymp.
clxx. 1.
B. C. 100.

The Par-
thians.
The Ro-
mans.

¹ Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

² Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.

³ Sallust. de Bell. Jugurth.

⁴ Plutarch in Mario.

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the spirit of stubborn independence or indignant rebellion⁵.

Having surmounted all these obstacles, Rome was ready to direct the strength of the West against the riches of the East; and though in consequence of the change of manners formerly explained, her senators were no longer characterized by proud simplicity and incorrupt dignity, and her citizens had sadly degenerated from their ancient frugality and honesty⁶, yet the pursuit of vast public interests was calculated to conceal the personal ambition and insatiable avarice of the great, and perpetual exercise in arms, encouraged by rewards and promises, and flattery, served in some measure to supply in the multitude the want of those nobler principles of patriotism and true honour, and that sounder military discipline, which had long made the legions invincible.

Four powers interposed between them.

Mithridates VI. Eupator his pursuits in youth.

Between the dominions of the Romans and Parthians, four independent kingdoms intervened; on the side of the former, Bithynia and Cappadocia; and on the side of Parthia, the far greater powers of Pontus and Armenia. Mithridates V. of Pontus, six years after he had assisted the Romans in the conquest of Pergamus, was slain⁷ by domestic treachery in the Greek city Sinopè, his favourite residence. He left behind him a son in his thirteenth year, Mithridates VI. Eupator, memorable for a reign of sixty years, of which the former half, obscure as it is in history, appears to have been a fit preparation for the splendour that followed it. Even in the earliest youth, being of a character that scorned submission, and that was prompt to rebel against the most legitimate authority, he rendered himself so obnoxious to his mother and tutors, that they determined on his destruction⁸. But the va-

⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 21. & l. xxviii. c. 12.

⁶ Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus, speaks of the honesty of the Romans even forty years after this period, and contrasts it with the dishonesty of the Greeks; but this is the language of the bar, studious not of what is true, but of what is useful to the cause in hand.

⁷ Strabo, l. x. p. 477.

⁸ Justin. lxxxvii. c. 1. and seq. His careless abridgment ill supplies the place of Trogus Pompeius: and the latter, did his work remain, could not compensate for the lost history of the great Posidonius, who must have treated fully of the reign of Mithridates. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. 214. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. and Lucian in Macrob.

rious snares which they laid for him all redounded, it is said, to his advantage or glory. When encouraged to mount too mettlesome horses, he learned to tame their fiery spirit; when assailed more secretly by poison, he took precautions for rendering it harmless, and at length invented the famous Mithridate⁹: in danger of assassination in his apartment, he lived seven years without knowing the confinement of walls, spending his whole day in the chase, and sleeping in the open air in the midst of companions attached to his fortunes, and rivals of his manhood. By this mode of life he hardened his body, which nature had cast in the finest mould of heroic beauty¹⁰, into a fit companion for a mind enterprising and fervid, filled with lofty hopes, and bent on noble purposes, in the prosecution of which he was alike indefatigable and fearless. In a sudden return to Sinopè, from the banks of the Thermodon, he cut off the enemies by whom his youth had been endangered, not sparing his mother¹¹, the accused murderer of his father, and who had long thirsted for the blood of her only son. To compensate by respect for one parent his stern punishment of the other, he assumed the title of Eupator, as if his highest boast consisted in the fame of his father's virtues. Of his two sisters, the elder Laodicè had been given in marriage to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia; he himself, according to the fashion of eastern kings, espoused the younger, who bore the same common name; an appellation as frequent in Pontus as Cleopatra in Egypt: while the historians of both countries often conceal from us the proper names by which even royal personages were distinguished.

Shortly after this marriage, Mithridates having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wife, undertook, with a few chosen friends, a long journey through the various regions of Asia. Being at peace with his neighbours, he had an opportunity of examining at leisure the strength and the weakness of all the different states in that continent; the strength likely to resist

His travels,
and reflections
made
thereon.

⁹ Plin. N, H. l. xxv. c. 2. and c. 6.

¹¹ Appian. *ibid.* Conf. Memnon.

¹⁰ Appian. *de Bell. Mithridat.* c. 112. Apud Phot. c. xxxii. p. 727.

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his arms, the weakness that tempted his ambition. On the side of the East and of Parthia, he saw but a doubtful conflict; the North and the West offered to him more tempting prospects. The Scythians beyond the Euxine were not at that time united under any one warlike khan or chieftain; and the states of western Asia, though nominally allies to Rome, were most of them jealous of that power, and all of them mutually hostile to each other. The kingdom of Pergamus, and the annexed districts in Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Phrygia, with which, and many others, the Romans ceased not to enlarge it, felt all the oppression of provincial government, which continually grew more intolerable with the increasing vices of Rome; the rapacity of generals, the extortion of publicans, the tyranny of the equestrian order, which, by a strange solecism in polity, united the financial administration in the provinces with the supreme judiciary power both at home and abroad. The great designs, with which his travels are said to have inspired Mithridates, were in danger of being blasted on his return to Pontus by female perfidy. Laodice had brought forth a son, of whom it was impossible that he should be the father. To escape the punishment of her adultery, she tendered to her husband a poisoned cup¹²; but Mithridates, apprised both of her perpetrated and intended crime, crushed the viper in his bosom, and turned to pursuits that easily obliterated in his ambitious mind this scene of domestic horror.

His Greek
subjects on
the Euxine
—their ser-
vices.

From the fruitful dales, watered by the Iris and Thermodon, the dominion of Pontus had been extended, in the last reign, to Heraclæa and Trapezus, two Greek cities on the Euxine, about five hundred miles asunder, by means of which, and the many intermediate places of the same description, Mithridates was furnished with instruments well qualified to second his views, either in arts or arms. Throughout his whole reign the Greeks were his ministers and generals,

¹² Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 3.

as well as his engineers and architects; the companions of his activity and the amusers of his idleness¹³. Their services were peculiarly useful in disciplining his Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, many tribes of whom were called Leuco-Syrians, because, being a mixed race of Syrians and Thracians, they differed conspicuously in their complexions from the southern and darker Syrians on both sides the Euphrates.

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With an army which added the tactics of Greek infantry to the rapid evolutions of Paphlagonian¹⁴ cavalry, and which he had taught to keep the field in all seasons, Mithridates, in successive expeditions, reduced the neighbouring nations on the Euxine, particularly the industrious Colchians, so renowned in the traditions of antiquity, and then advanced northward to the small but respectable kingdom in the Tauric Chersonesus. In this remote peninsula, he received the submission of a successor, and probably a descendent of that Leucon who, in the age of Demosthenes, annually supplied the Athenians with 400,000 bushels of corn¹⁵. From the Greek colonies which adorned the northern banks of the Euxine, and which extended themselves three hundred miles inland from the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Tanais¹⁶, the invader encountered not any memorable resistance. The fiercer Scythian tribes at first unsuccessfully opposed, and afterwards reinforced his arms. How far he carried his conquests on this side, history does not record; but it is mentioned to his praise that, as Alexander discovered the East, and the Romans the West, so the North was first explored and made known by the victories of Mithridates¹⁷. His dominions, when he first interfered with the Roman allies in Lesser Asia, stretched 2,000 miles in length¹⁸. They consisted of twenty-four nations, speaking as many different languages, of

His extensive northern conquests.

¹³ Strabo, l. x. p. 557. and l. xiii. p. 609. 610. and passim.

¹⁴ The whole of Paphlagonia had been added to Pontus by Mithridates V. Vid. Oration. Mithridat. ad exercitum, apud Justin. 1. xxxviii. c. 4. and seq.

¹⁵ Demosthen. in Leptin.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 104. Conf. Strabo, Plin. Dionys. Perieget.

¹⁷ Strabo, l. i. p. 14.

¹⁸ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498.

CHAP. XXVI. all which the tenacious memory of Mithridates made him a complete master¹⁹. This latter circumstance is the only thing extraordinary in the report. For the district of Caucasus alone, the towering isthmus between the Euxine and Caspian, has been noted both in ancient and modern times for a still greater variety of dialects. This tract of country, which Mithridates often pervaded as a conqueror, connecting geographically Sarmatia and Scythia with Assyria and Persia, is the high road of communication through which the exuberant populousness of the North has continually flowed, to repair the wasteful luxury and corroding effeminacy of the South. At Dioscurias, the general emporium of Caucasus, Strabo speaks of seventy, some writers said a more incredible number of nations and tongues; so that this isthmus or passage between the two great divisions of the eastern continent, should seem to have retained specimens, as it were, of the various passing tribes in their successive migrations²⁰.

The Pontic
ambassadors treat-
ed with
contumely
at Rome.
Olymp.
clxix. 4.
B. C. 101.

Mithridates, having in some measure consolidated his obscure, barbarous empire, long pondered his own strength before he ventured upon a more splendid theatre of action. His natural wish was to extend his empire to the Grecian sea; but, in this design, he must encounter the Romans, and before them their allies in Cappadocia and Bithynia. That he might interpose in the affairs of these kingdoms, without creating jealousy; or at least without rousing immediate opposition, he sent ambassadors loaded with gold to Rome, where the events of the Jugurthine war (for we shall see that such transactions escaped not his vigilance,) were sufficient to assure him that all was venal. On one occasion the activity of faction disconcerted his intrigues. The people at large, who were apprised of many acts of delinquency in their superiors, began to view all their proceedings suspiciously, nay malignantly; and the party spirit or envy of Saturninus,

¹⁹ Plin. l. vii. c. 24. l. xxv. c. 2.
Aulus Gellius, l. xvii. c. 17.

²⁰ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 278.

afterwards a fit accomplice of the bold and bloody Marius, hurried him into undistinguishing resentment against the ambassadors of Pontus, whom, as bearers of the king's bribes, he treated with the utmost contumely. It belonged to the senate to take cognisance of such outrages against the law of nations. Upon complaint of the ambassadors, Saturninus was therefore tried by the senate; but such was the concourse of persons who espoused his cause, that his judges durst not condemn him. The favour of the multitude raised him soon afterwards to the tribunate²⁰.

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This unseasonable occurrence did not divert Mithridates from his purpose. His sister Laodicè, wife to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia, had borne to that prince two sons, then in early youth. Should their father die, the king of Pontus, as guardian to his nephews, would become master of Cappadocia. Ariarathes was removed through the agency, it was believed, of a certain Gordius, instigated, according to report, by Mithridates to the treacherous murder of his sovereign²¹. But in his design of taking on him the government of Cappadocia, the author of the crime found himself thwarted by the bold spirit of his sister Laodicè, who asserted her right of administration during the minority of her son; and to obtain a powerful abettor of this pretension, gave herself in second marriage to the aged Nicomedes II. who, for nearly half a century, had filled the neighbouring throne of Bithynia. This transaction, intercepting the fruits of his iniquity, enraged Mithridates against Nicomedes, and still more against Laodicè and her sons.

Mithridates' machinations against Cappadocia thwarted by his sister Laodicè.

He immediately took the field with a great army, for Nicomedes could muster 50,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. Mithridates, however, overcame all difficulties, except the unalterable loyalty of the Cappadocians to their hereditary kings, descendents of the satrap Anaphas, who had assisted Darius Hystaspis in overturning the usurpation of the magi; and whose highborn line had been wonderfully²² preserved from

He allows his nephew to reign there on condition that Gordius should be reinstated in power.

²⁰ Appian. Dion. & Tit. Liv. Epit. tom. l. lxix.

²¹ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

²² See above, vol. i. p. 254.

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destruction under the bloody grasp of Perdiccas, the immediate successor of Alexander the Great. Wishing to associate and subdue the Cappadocians, not to extirpate them, the conqueror allowed them to place the elder of his nephews on their vacant throne, requiring, as the only condition on their part, the recal and reinstatement of Gordius, who had been banished, as he gave out, on groundless suspicions²³.

Mithridates invades Cappadocia, murders his nephew Ariarathes VIII. in a parley.

But Ariarathes VIII. made no haste to bring back a man stained with the foul imputation of treasonable murder; and when urged on this subject by his uncle, put his kingdom in a posture of defence, and trusted to the affectionate zeal of his people. To answer this defiance, Mithridates entered his frontier at the head of 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, together with an alarming train of 600 armed chariots, winged with scythes, to sweep the Cappadocian plains. Notwithstanding this formidable force, his adversaries did not decline an engagement. Both armies were arrayed for battle, when Mithridates, sensible of the havoc that must be made among a people whom he already grasped as his property, summoned his nephew to a parley. As a preparation for this conference, persons were sent, according to the usual practice in such cases, to make sure that neither of the opposite chiefs carried with him any concealed weapon. Mithridates had a dagger artfully hid in his girdle, which, being handled with little ceremony by those sent to search him, he desired them to take care lest they should discover an instrument, not of death but of life; and having inspired confidence by this coarse jest, avoided the detection of the flagitious villany which he meditated, and which in the moment after he inhumanly perpetrated²⁴. The assassination of their youthful and beloved king, in the presence of both armies, instead of rousing the Cappadocians to revenge, filled them with consternation. They threw down their arms in dismay, and submitted to the victor.

²³ Justin, *ibid*.

²⁴ *Id. ibid*.

But from this effect of sudden terror they as suddenly recovered, when Mithridates, having quitted their country, left them in the hands of his lieutenants. The younger brother of Ariarathes VIII. to elude the dangers of the times, had, according to a custom which we have often noticed, been deposited in safe custody in one of the islands or walled cities of Lesser Asia. A revolt of the Cappadocians enabled him, under the name of Ariarathes IX. to mount the throne of his ancestors. But his reign lasted only a few months, for Mithridates, descending from the heights of Caucasus, whither his affairs had called him, defeated and dispossessed this unfortunate young prince, who died of grief in exile²⁵; and with him ended the long line of Anaphas, which, either as hereditary satraps or as kings, had governed Cappadocia 440 years.

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Despair of
Ariarathes
IX. and ex-
tinction of
the long
line of Cap-
padocian
kings.
Olymp.
clxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

During the transactions above recorded, Laodicè, through the protection of her husband, escaped her brother's vengeance. Exasperated now, in her turn, by the cruel destruction of her children, she concerted with Nicomedes a scheme for depriving Mithridates of the fruits of his multiplied crimes. A youth of obscure descent, but of a graceful figure and winning behaviour, was taught to personate a third son of Ariarathes VII. and Laodicè, and was conducted to Rome by his mother, under an escort of Bithynians, to claim assistance from the senate against the murderer of his father and brothers, and the usurper of his kingdom. To counteract this intrigue, Mithridates employed Gordius, whom he found equally well qualified to second either his craft or his cruelty, and sent him at the head of a splendid embassy, to convince the Romans that a child only eight years old, and really his own son, whom he affected to treat as king of Cappadocia, was the only surviving descendent of the illustrious Ariarathes VI. the civilizer of his country and the faithful ally of Rome, in the Pergamenian war. The senate, however, was not the dupe of such artifices. Since the time that Pergamus

Laodice
the queen-
mother
sends a sup-
posititious
son to
Rome to
claim his
father's
kingdom.

Mithri-
dates coun-
teracts her
intrigues
by false-
hoods
equally au-
dacious.

²⁵ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 2

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had been reduced into a province, the Lesser Asia was filled with Romans under a variety of characters, civil as well as military, and engaged in various pursuits both of a public and private nature, though the class employed in commerce seems to have been incomparably the most numerous. From the reports of their countrymen settled in the East, the Romans knew what to think of the impositions that would have been practised on them by Laodicè and her brother; and could not enough admire the frontless impudence of both. In contempt of their fictitious kings, the senate therefore declared the Cappadocians a free people, and gave orders for intimating this decree to all persons concerned in it²⁶.

The Cappadocians acknowledge their unfitness for enjoying liberty.

The first opposition to a measure apparently so laudable, came from an unexpected quarter, that of the Cappadocians themselves. They confessed, that liberty was not a fit present for them, because they were not in a situation rightly to enjoy it. "In a commonwealth like Rome, long engaged in important transactions at home and abroad, there flourished many able and enlightened citizens, qualified to rule over each other in vicarious succession, and who had been trained by habit to command with temper, and obey with dignity. Such was not the condition of Cappadocia, a country still rude and undisciplined, but whose inhabitants, ignorant of other matters, yet knew enough of themselves to be convinced that they could not live without a king." The Romans, not a little astonished at this rejection of freedom, a blessing in their eyes so precious, gave intimation that the people of Cappadocia should choose themselves a king from their own nation. They chose Ariobarzanes, a person recommended by his nobility, his opulence, and his equity: for though a party clamoured for Gordius, the friend of Mithridates, yet the great majority of the Cappadocians, regarded this candidate with horror²⁷.

Choose Ariobarzanes for king.

Sylla sent from Rome to secure

To confirm Ariobarzanes in his high dignity, the senate employed Sylla, who had been pretor the preceding year at Rome,

²⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

²⁷ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 5.

and had distinguished his pretorship by combats of lions and other wild beasts from Africa²⁸. This reminded the Romans of the Numidian war, of which Sylla had carried off the chief glory by the capture of Jugurtha²⁹. He was naturally pointed out, therefore, for an expedition in which he might have to encounter a prince as bold and crafty as Jugurtha, and far more powerful. But Mithridates, whose designs had been long meditated, did not think proper to risk their ultimate success by too sudden a disclosure of them. The affections of the Cappadocians running in a strong current for Ariobarzanes, he allowed him with little, and that only a secret opposition, to be established on the throne.

Sylla should seem to have made a progress with the new king through his dominions, since he appeared with him on the Euphrates, which separates Cappadocia and Armenia. On the banks of this river, a Parthian ambassador came to the Roman pretor, offering the friendship of his master, old Mithridates II. This was the first transaction between the Romans and Parthians, nations destined to war for three centuries with each other. Sylla received Orobazus, for that was the stranger's name, with much courtesy, except that in his tent he took his own seat between the Cappadocian king and the Parthian ambassador, thus claiming, in his quality of Roman magistrate, the most honourable place. For submitting without remonstrance to this degradation, Orobazus, upon his return home, was punished capitally, as a traitor to the dignity of his country. Yet his fault admitted extenuation on the principles at all times acknowledged in the East; for a soothsayer and physiognomist in his suite, on carefully observing Sylla, declared it as a matter of inevitable necessity that this Roman should attain unrivalled preeminence, and that the more he considered him, the more he was astonished that he had not already reached the highest pinnacle of fortune³⁰.

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his peace-
ful acces-
sion.
Olymp.
clxxii. 1.
B. C. 92.

Sylla's pro-
gress with
Ariobarza-
nes, and
encounter
with a Par-
thian am-
bassador on
the banks
of the Eu-
phrates.

²⁸ Plutarch in Sylla.

²⁹ Salust. Bell. Jugur.

³⁰ Plutarch in Sylla.

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Tigranes II. of Armenia is persuaded by Mithridates to invade Cappadocia and dispossess Ariobarzanes.

Olymp. clxxii. 3.
B. C. 90.

The principal opposition which Sylla encountered in settling the government of Cappadocia arose, not from the inhabitants of that country, but from their neighbours the Armenians. This latter people, we know not for what reason, warmly espoused the interest of Gordius. Their king, Tigranes II. had long resided as a hostage in Parthia, but upon the death of his father of the same name, a lineal descendant of Artaxias, the founder of their monarchy, the son was restored to his birthright on condition of ceding to the Parthians a large district in Armenia, denominated the seventy valleys. The accession of Tigranes II. happened fifteen years before the election of Ariobarzanes; during which period, especially during the declining age of Mithridates II. of Parthia, Tigranes had availed himself of favourable circumstances greatly to augment his kingdom. He was a man certainly of enlarged views, but vain, ostentatious, and inconsiderate, endowed with more activity than energy, insolent in his foreign policy, and imperious in his domestic government. To this prince the king of Pontus, not thinking the moment arrived for making war openly on Rome, applied in the warmest terms of attachment and confidence, he gave him his eldest daughter in marriage; and describing Ariobarzanes, as he really was, a man of a mild and feeble character, easily prevailed with Tigranes to send an army into Cappadocia, to expel the newly elected king, and to take possession of the country³¹.

Socrates is assisted by him in expelling his brother

Nicomedes III. king of Bithynia.

About this time, Nicomedes II. of Bithynia closed his long reign of fifty-six years, leaving for his successor a son of the same name, born of Nysa, a dancing woman, but acknowledged as king by the Roman senate, probably for reasons of great cogency with the more corrupt members of that body. This Nicomedes III. had a brother named Socrates, whom Mithridates encouraged to claim the crown, under the plea that on the female side his descent was the more honourable. A war ensued between the brothers, and through the

³¹ Appian. Mithridatic. c. 67. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

assistance furnished to him by the king of Pontus, Socrates, who assumed the title of Chrestos, the "Thrifty," prevailed in several encounters, and at length drove his rival from the country. The two expelled princes, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes fled for redress to Rome, the scourge indeed of kings in their pride of power, but the ordinary refuge of dispossessed sovereigns. They were favourably heard in the senate, which immediately decreed their restoration; and for this purpose named at the head of a commission into Asia, Marcus Aquilius, a man of consular dignity, who, ten years before this period, had happily terminated an insurrection of slaves in Sicily, by slaying with his own hand Athenio, their active and intrepid leader³². The proconsul, in the province of Pergamus, Lucius Cassius, had orders to cooperate, if necessary, with the commissioners; who, if they found themselves obliged to act in the character of generals, were entitled also to summon to their standard all the friendly powers of the East, not excepting even the king of Pontus, whom, as he had not yet openly declared himself, the Romans still affected to regard as their confederate. Vested with such authority, by the assistance only of a slight detachment from Pergamus, and some bodies of auxiliaries raised hastily in Galatia and Phrygia, Aquilius speedily reinstated the exiled kings; and resettled, for a time, the affairs of Capadocia and Bithynia³³. From the former country, the lieutenants of Tigranes passed beyond the Euphrates; and from the latter, Socrates escaped into the dominions of Mithridates, where his death, shortly afterwards, afforded that prince an opportunity of arraigning the bloodthirsty persecution of Rome, to which, as the only expedient for preserving peace, he had been compelled, he said, to sacrifice an unfortunate prince who had fled to him for protection³⁴.

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The two
deprived
kings res-
tored by
the au-
thority of
Roman
commis-
sioners.
Olymp.
clxxii. 4.
B. C. 89.

³² Diodorus, Eclog. p. 536.

seq.

³³ Appian. Mithridatic. c. 11. &

³⁴ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 5.

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Nicomedes
plunders
the Greek
cities on
the Euxine.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

Forbear-
ance of
Mithri-
dates—rea-
sons there-
of.

The facility with which Aquilius and his coadjutors had accomplished the business committed to them, made it be too hastily concluded, that the name of Rome inspired such terror as would sanction every outrage. Young Nicomedes had promised to the commissioners and the persons employed under them, large sums of money as remunerations for their good offices; he had also contracted heavy debts to the Roman traders and money lenders abounding in all the cities of Lesser Asia. Solicited by his restorers to the throne, and pressed by his creditors, he was forced on speedier methods for contenting both, than those afforded by the slow annual revenues of a kingdom far richer in men than in money. On the promise of support from Rome, he therefore retaliated the injuries which he had received from Mithridates, by a sudden inroad into Paphlagonia, where he carried his depredations even to the wealthy city Amastris on the Euxine. Instead of retorting hostilities with that promptitude which might have been expected from a prince so powerful and so well prepared for action, Mithridates sent successive embassies with complaints of this aggression, both to the Roman senate, and to the Romans invested with power in Asia. He had several reasons for this forbearance, of which two chiefly deserve notice. Rome was about this time compelled to take up arms against her subjects in Italy, who had been encouraged by the popular faction in the capital, to claim the equal right of citizens. If Mithridates too soon threw off the mask of moderation, he feared lest his enemies should conclude peace at home, in order the more strenuously to carry on operations against himself abroad. He waited therefore, before taking the field, to see them deeply and inextricably involved in what is called the Marsic or Social war: a delay which turned out highly useful for him. His second reason was to prove to all those powers that either were, already, or whom he wished to make his allies, that the Romans deserved the whole blame of the approaching commotions likely to deform the fairest regions of Asia³⁵.

³⁵ Appian. Mithridatic. c. 12.

Meanwhile he concluded an intimate alliance with his son-in-law Tigranes, plainly meant for aggression, since that prince was to make prize of all movables, not excepting the persons of the enemy; whereas Mithridates was to content himself with rifled towns and bare dispeopled territories³⁶. To account for this singular compact, it must be observed that Tigranes was then building his new capital Tigranocerta³⁷, near the Tigris, about three hundred miles south of his ancient residence Artaxata on the Araxes. He needed men and movables to people and replenish the vast circuit of the walls which his ostentatious vanity had traced: whereas Mithridates could easily fill up the void which such transportations might occasion, having under his dependency those parts of Scythia which have been emphatically styled the storehouse of nations, and whose wandering inhabitants were always ready to exchange the keen air of their deserts for the softer and more voluptuous climates of Southern Asia.

The haughty answers which Mithridates received from the Roman generals, convinced him, before the return of his ambassadors, that war was ready to be levied on him. Without further delay he therefore marched his army, and expelling Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, reestablished there, according to his original plan, his own son under the soothing name of Ariarathes. Upon this decisive measure, the Roman generals without waiting orders from their republic, took the field with a great army to recover Cappadocia, and with two divisions, each 40,000 strong, to defend Bithynia. Their ally Nicomedes mustered 50,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. The land forces of Mithridates amounted at this time to 290,000, of which 40,000 were cavalry; and his fleet on the Euxine consisted of 400 sail. The greater part of these mighty preparations were brought into action, but the events of a war equally disgraceful and calamitous to their country,

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Mithridates' treaty with Tigranes, by which the latter was to make prize of all movables—causes of this condition. Olymp. clxxii. 3. B. C. 90.

Mithridates' success in a great war in all parts of Lesser Asia. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

³⁶ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

Lucull.

³⁷ Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. Plutarch in Vol. III.

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the Roman historians omitted circumstantially to record. We must be contented to know³⁷ that the first memorable engagement gained Bithynia to Mithridates, while it secured to him the possession of Cappadocia. This decisive battle was fought on the frontier of the former kingdom, and near to mount Scoroba, which, towering above the river Amnias, served as the ancient boundary between Bithynia and the dominions of Pontus. For so important a victory Mithridates was much indebted to his Greek generals Archelaus and Taxiles, two brothers; Dorilaus, Craterus, Pelopidas, and Neoptolemus. To prosecute his good fortune, the conqueror hastened into the central province of Phrygia, and pitched his tents on a spot famous for the encampment of Alexander the Great, deeming this circumstance auspicious to his own lofty designs. From Phrygia, his army dispersed in three directions, to overrun the two sides and the front of the peninsula of Lesser Asia. Their squadrons of light Sarmatians swept the plains, and their enterprises against the walled cities were facilitated by the generous treatment bestowed on all captives, whose dress and language did not betray them for Romans³⁸. Upon the seacoast, Mithridates' fleet was equally triumphant; the enemies' guard ships were driven from the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.

Nicomedes
and Ariobarzanes
again at
Rome—
Cruelties
of Mithri-
dates to the
Roman
generals.

Amidst the shipwreck of all their fortunes, the authors of this fatal war endeavoured by flight to save their persons. The kings Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes again escaped to Rome. Aquilius, whose anguish of mind had weakened and disordered his body, fled to Mitylenè, in the isle of Lesbos. Appius, proconsul of Pamphylia, sought refuge in Laodicea; and Cassius, proconsul of Pergamus, expected, as we shall see, on better grounds, the same favour at Rhodes. Aquilius and Appius were surrendered on the first summons, as peace offerings to the conqueror. They were treated with equal indignity during life³⁹; and Aquilius,

³⁷ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. et seq. Exerp. p. 612.

³⁹ Cicero. pro leg. Manil. c. 5.

³⁸ Appian. ibid. Conf. Diodorus,

whose boundless avarice had occasioned so many evils, was subjected to a death of unexampled cruelty. After long following the victor's train, tied on the back of an ass, and compelled to proclaim with his own voice that he was Marcus Aquilius, the Roman consul, his ignominy was ended at Pergamus by the pouring of melted gold down his throat⁴⁰.

This inhuman punishment served as a prelude to a still more horrid enormity. Mithridates, who deemed his hold of Lesser Asia insecure, while its cities were crowded with Romans, formed a secret plan for destroying all of them in one day, and at a month's distance from the time that his measures for the massacre were concerted. Pergamus, Ephesus, Adramyttium, in general the Greek cities on the sea-coast, were the main scenes of this unparalleled barbarity, which cut off 80,000⁴¹, another account says 150,000⁴², natives of Italy. Of this catastrophe, the accomplices and instruments were of various descriptions. Some Romans fell victims round the statues of the gods, whose protection they implored; some died supplicating pity on the hearths of once hospitable friends; a greater number perished by the hands of angry debtors and envious slaves, from neither of which classes they could expect mercy⁴³.

When such disasters, and ignominy worse than disaster, assailed the Romans in Asia, their capital was a prey to that relentless discord, which in the course of six years ended in the dictatorship, or rather the despotism, of Sylla. This grand crisis in the commonwealth arose immediately out of the Social war, in which the Marsi and their allies, having obtained the object for which they contended, thereby doubled suddenly the already too numerous voters in the Roman assemblies. These new voters, however, were thrown into eight of the thirty-five ancient tribes⁴⁴, and thus restricted to less than a fourth part of the right of suffrage and

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Massacre
of 80,000,
others say
150,000
Roman set-
tlers in
Asia
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

The Ro-
mans com-
pelled to
terminate
disgrace-
fully the
Social or
Marsic
war.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

⁴⁰ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

Legat. 37.

⁴¹ Memnon. apud Phot. c. xxxiii.
p. 730. Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

⁴³ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat.
c. 22. & seq.

⁴² Plutarch in Sylla. Dion.

⁴⁴ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 20.

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sovereignty exercised by the Roman people; a share of power which by no means contented them, though they acquiesced in it for the present, merely as a temporary expedient. In the height of their animosity to Rome, they had sent an embassy to Mithridates, craving his cooperation with them in Italy. But he wrote to them that he could not sail thither, until he had previously conquered Asia⁴⁵, meaning thereby the western division of that continent: upon which answer, they first listened to negotiation, and soon afterwards concluded peace with Rome on the terms just mentioned.

Factions in
Rome—
Marius, his
views.

But this peace was made with enmity rankling in their hearts, and ready to be called into action by bad men to gratify their own selfish ambition. The same profligate leaders, who of late courted popularity within the city by Agrarian laws and lavish distributions of corn, were now equally clamorous for the full and equal participation of all Italians in the right of citizenship. In the blindness of political faction, which can see nothing but its leader, and him always under a flattering and false aspect, the most zealous partymen, among the ancient citizens, abetted the cause of the new, though their real interests were evidently opposite. At the head of these seditious levellers were the tribune Sulpicius, Cethegus, Suetonius, Junius Brutus; the Marii father and son, the former of whom, Caius Marius, was the prime mover of all, and a man who, for the misfortune of his country, possessed the highest military abilities, without one civil attainment or one moral virtue. To oppose this barbarous soldier, totally destitute of arts, letters, and urbanity, all of which his bold ignorance contemned, Fortune raised up Sylla, whom that goddess claimed for her own, while he, as willingly, acknowledged her for his sovereign mistress. Yet the good fortune of Sylla consisted in his disregard of death and danger, in the conviction of his own superior powers, and in an habitual presence of mind, the fruit of anticipation and forethought. With such qualities, in a sub-

Sylla, his
character.

⁴⁵ Diodorus, Eclog. l. xxxiii. p. 540.

ordinate station, he eclipsed the glory of Marius in the war with Jugurtha. For a dozen years after this sharp conflict, he seemed careless of public employments, being occupied chiefly in the cultivation of his taste and understanding, but mingling pleasure, or rather profligacy, with wit, letters, and refinement. From this inactive middle state, he emerged, as we have seen, to repress the first bold measures of Mithridates; and at the breaking out of the Marsic war, he engaged and served in it with peculiar zeal and energy, his abilities still enlarging with the occasion, and his fame still towering above that of Marius and every other general. At the ensuing elections in Rome, he first offered himself a candidate for the consulship in his fiftieth year, and then attained that well merited dignity, with the commission of making war, with six legions, on the king of Pontus. But while he marched towards Brundisium, to cross the Hadriatic into Greece, the tribune Sulpicius, by a tumultuary assembly of the tribes, in which the new citizens voted promiscuously with the old, divested him of his command, and constituted Marius, now on the verge of seventy, general against Mithridates, a prince in the vigour of life, and the meridian of military glory ⁴⁶.

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Appointed
general
against
Mithri-
dates, but
divested of
command
by an un-
lawful vote
of the
tribes.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

Sylla beheld the sudden storm that was ready to blast his fortunes, and determined to dispel it. None knew better, than he did, how to manage the minds of soldiers. To his legions encamped in Campania, he intimated the injustice done to him at Rome, and had the art of persuading them, that the insult offered to their general's honour, was levelled at their own emoluments. Marius, he said, had his creatures and favourites among the troops, whom he wished to gratify with the spoils of Asia; and that, with the appointment of a new commander in this lucrative service, new legions would also be employed. Accordingly, when officers arrived in the name of Marius to take charge of the men and stores, they were slain in a military tumult; an outrage which was speedily re-

He march-
es to Rome,
punishes
his ene-
mies, and
restores
the ancient
govern-
ment.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

⁴⁶ Plutarch in Sylla, in Mario. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 50. et seq.

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torted on Sylla's friends and relatives in the city. With a promptitude of decision that characterized all his measures, and always made them successful, Sylla marched towards Rome: his enemies either betook themselves to flight, or retired into the capitol and other strongholds. He drove them from thence by setting the neighbouring streets on fire; and having thus destroyed or expelled the authors of sedition, abolished the legislation of the tribes, reestablished the authority of the senate, and settled the government, in all other points, on the old aristocratic model ⁴⁷.

Mithridates unsuccessful against Rhodes and Magnesia—causes thereof.

After this domestic victory, he hastened across the Adriatic, to oppose the enemies of the state. In the midst of general success, the troops of Mithridates had been foiled ⁴⁸ in the assault of Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus; and he himself, being defeated in a seafight at Rhodes, thought fit to desist ⁴⁹ from the siege of that illustrious island, then desperately defended by such Romans as had escaped from the battles and massacres in Lesser Asia. The pertinacious resistance of Magnesia may also, in some measure, be accounted for. In the neighbourhood of that city, the Scipios had triumphed over Antiochus the Great; and though that decisive victory dated beyond a century, yet its memory still inspired the Magnetes with awe for the Roman name, and a dread of revolting from a people whom they had been accustomed to regard with terror.

Athens sends an embassy to Mithridates, he gains the ambassador and throws a garrison into the city.

The same sentiments prevailed not in the cities of ancient Greece, and particularly in Athens, ever destined to act a principal part in the revolutions of that country. For the space of fifty years, the Greeks restrained from the unhappy license of domestic warfare, enjoyed honourable tranquillity under the government of Rome, being indulged with the management of their municipal concerns, and the hereditary forms of their ancient free polities. The literary renown of Athens had recommended it, as we have seen, to the pe-

⁴⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Diodor. Excerpt. p. 615.

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxi.

cular favour of the victors; yet the Athenians, out of envy, pusillanimity, or mere levity, were the first of the Greeks to send an embassy to Mithridates, whose army commanded all Lesser Asia, except the district of mount Sipylus, and whose fleet overawed all the adjacent isles, with the single exception of Rhodes. The ambassador, chosen by the Athenians, was a certain Aristio, a philosopher or sophist, son of Athenio the Peripatetic, but himself an Epicurean, and among the vilest offspring of that sect, since, to the refined pleasures of social virtue and intellectual exertion, he preferred the gross gratifications of voluptuousness and tyranny⁵⁰. He seemed, however, to Mithridates, a fit person for his purpose; and, being gained to his interest, was intrusted by him with a body of 2,000 men, who, under pretence of escorting some treasures from Delos destined to sacred uses, entered Athens, and procured for their leader already powerful with the multitude, an absolute ascendancy in that city⁵¹.

Meanwhile Sylla advanced through Thessaly and Bœotia, every where restraining defection, or receiving tenders of submission. But Athens had shut her gates, and manned her walls, Aristio commanding in the city, and Archelaus, a Pontic general, holding possession of the Piræus. Both places were besieged with perseverance, and defended with obstinacy. The neighbouring cities were laid under contribution to supply materials and workmen. Twenty thousand mules were employed for the service of Sylla's carriages and engines. To pay his troops, he spared not the richest and most venerated of the Grecian temples, those of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia. At length the Athenians, reduced to the utmost distress by famine, sent deputies to capitulate. That they might obtain better terms, they began to expatiate on the ancient virtues and renown of their republic; but Sylla replied abruptly and sternly, "I came hither to punish rebellion, not to be amused by oratory." Two days after, the city was taken by assault, upon which Archelaus sailed

Sylla arrives; takes Athens by assault. Olymp. clxxiii. 3. B. C. 86.

⁵⁰ Plutarch in Sylla. ⁵¹ Posidonius apud Athenæum. l. v. p. 211. et seq.

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hastily from the Piræus, abandoning that harbour also to the enemy⁵².

Mithridates betrayed by the same weakness which had ruined Antiochus the Great.

During the siege of Athens, Mithridates, being master at sea, had repeatedly succoured the place, and sent successive divisions of his forces into Thrace, which at length amounted to two great armies. While he remained in person at Pergamus, settling the affairs of Lesser Asia, his intention was to fight, by his lieutenants, the Romans in Greece, which he considered as a sort of neutral ground between his own dominions and Italy. The design was unwise, for six veteran legions, and still more, Sylla who commanded them, required the hand and the head of a master antagonist; but it is remarkable that Mithridates, at the commencement of his war with Rome, was betrayed by the same weakness which, on a similar occasion, proved ruinous to Antiochus the Great. In recently taking possession of Stratonicea in Caria, he had been smitten with the charms of Monima, daughter to Philopœmen, a Greek inhabitant of that place. This resistless beauty he raised to the partnership of his throne; and the festivities with which he celebrated his nuptials, and still more the intemperance of love and wine which accompanied and followed them, made the marriage of Monima as fatal to the interests of Mithridates⁵³, as that of the fair maid of Chalcis had formerly proved to those of the king of Syria.

His great army in Greece—Dromichætes the Thracian.

The Pontic forces in Thrace were joined by those of Dromichætes, a hereditary name among the chieftains of that untamed country, ever hostile to Rome, and always ready to abet any power that ventured to step forth as her antagonist. Besides Dromichætes the Thracian, these forces were led by Taxiles and other generals; but according to Mithridates' orders, the whole of them, upon their arrival in Greece, were to obey Archelaus, who left the Piræus abruptly, in order to put himself at their head. He, accordingly,

⁵² Plutarch in Sylla, et Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 22. & seq.

⁵³ Id. ibid.

joined the first division which had passed through Macedon into Thessaly⁵⁴, driving before them the Romans employed in civil or military affairs in that province. Sylla, being apprised of the enemy's approach, hastened from Attica into Bœotia, and arrived in time to save the important city Chæronæa. Disappointed of admission into this place, Archelaus, with little attention to the nature of his troops, consisting, besides innumerable archers, of a phalanx of spearsmen, and a heavy cavalry richly caparisoned, chose his position on the hill of Thurium, which rises in the neighbourhood of Chæronæa, and ascending by various ledges of rocks, that form so many natural terraces, terminates at length in an abrupt and narrow summit. In such a post, the Asiatics, who were three times more numerous than the Romans, thought themselves secure from attack. They were disappointed. A citizen of Chæronæa made known to Sylla a secret path, by which he fell suddenly on their rear. This attack was decisive; and the battle a mere rout, and one of the most remarkable on record, if 100,000 Asiatics fell, with the loss of only 12 Romans, for Sylla related in his memoirs that 14 were missing, two of whom afterwards made their appearance. Archelaus, with about 10,000 fugitives, escaped to Chalcis in Eubœa⁵⁵.

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XXVI.Battle of
Thurium
in Bœotia
in which
Archelaus
is defeated
with the
loss of
100,000
slain.
Olymp.
cixxiii. 3.
B. C. 86.

Shortly after this memorable victory, Sylla learned that his absence from Rome had been followed by a renewal of disorders in that city. Cinna, though consul by his sufferance, had basely broken faith with him: Marius was restored from exile beyond seas, where his kindred vengeance had brooded over the gloomy ruins of Carthage⁵⁶; the whole frame of the government was subverted; and Flaccus, with Fimbria for his lieutenant, had sailed with a reinforcement of two legions towards Greece, that he might command as consul in the Mithridatic war. Sylla, upon this intelligence, determined

Battle of
Orchome-
nos—the
Asiatic
camp
stormed.

⁵⁴ Macedon and Thessaly then formed one Roman province. See above, c. xxiv.

⁵⁵ Plutarch in Sylla. Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 4. & seq.

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Marius.

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to treat the approaching legions as enemies, and hastened towards the Hadriatic to combat them at their first landing. But he had not proceeded beyond Thessaly, before he was informed that a new Asiatic army had entered the more southern parts of Greece which he had just quitted, and was making conquest of them for the king of Pontus. This new army, being transported to Eubœa, had joined forces with Archelaus at Chalcis. It was 80,000 strong, and consisted chiefly of cavalry. Its commander was Dorylaus, nephew to a general of the same name, who, from his skill in tactics, and his writings on that subject, was called Dorylaus the tactician. The uncle had been the friend and favourite of Mithridates V. Euergetes; the nephew rendered himself equally acceptable to the successor of that prince, who now despatched him into Greece to cooperate with Archelaus⁵⁷. Upon returning southward, Sylla found the enemy in the plain of Orchomenos, a city ten miles distant from the scene of the former battle at Chæronæa. The district abounded in forage, and was well adapted to the operations of cavalry. Sylla descended into it by the heights nearest to the lake Copais, and took post among the adjacent marshes. From this position, he began to draw lines ten feet broad into the plain, but his workmen were soon obstructed, and they, as well as the troops that guarded them, thrown into great terror. The enemy, covered by the whole Pontic and Paphlagonian horse, advanced to a sudden assault. The Romans fell back, and their officers being unable to rally them, Sylla leaped from his horse, and seizing an ensign, rushed to oppose the assailants, crying aloud, "let it be made known at Rome that I was forsaken by my troops at Orchomenos⁵⁸." At that instant many officers sprang forward to second him; they were supported by the bravest troops; the remainder followed through shame; a sharp conflict ensued; and the enemy, being put to the rout, were pursued to their camp with the loss of 15,000, of whom 10,000 were cavalry. Without allowing

⁵⁷ Strabo, l. x. p. 478.

⁵⁸ Plutarch in Sylla, and Appian. c. 49.

them time for recovering from this blow, the Romans, with compacted shields under the form of the testudo, attacked the Asiatic camp. The rampart was warmly defended, and the combat the more bloody, because the enemy, cooped up within a narrow space, could not make the ordinary and appropriate use of their arms, but collecting their arrows into fasces, fought with them hand to hand, as with swords. Many were slain in the camp, and many, being pursued towards the marshes of Copais, were there drowned, or cut in pieces, while they vainly implored mercy in languages unknown to the victors. Archelaus, with a feeble remnant, again escaped to Chalcis⁵⁹.

The dreadful defeats of Mithridates' generals spread revolt among his allies or conquests. The spirit of defection became the bolder and the more general, when the Roman army in the Marian interest, finding the Bosphorus unguarded, passed from Byzantium into Asia. This army, in consequence of a deadly quarrel between Flaccus and his lieutenant Fimbria, had fallen into the hands of the latter; a man unprincipled and audacious, and who, having excited the soldiers to murder his own superior and their general, endeavoured to efface this enormity by acting with uncommon vigour against Mithridates⁶⁰.

At the same time, this prince was in danger from a more unexpected enemy. Sylla had carried as his questor into Greece, Lucullus, who, having conducted himself in that important office with equal ability and zeal, was commissioned, after the taking of Athens, to collect ships from Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrenè, and Egypt. His requisitions were complied with in most of those countries, as well as on the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia; and though his expedition, undertaken during the winter season, was exposed also to much danger from the fleets of Mithridates and from pirates,

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Operations
of Fimbria
a partisan
of Marius.

Lucullus
Sylla's
questor
collects a
powerful
fleet.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 3.
B. C. 86.

⁵⁹ Id. *ibid.* ⁶⁰ Appian, Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 24.

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He refuses
to coope-
rate with
Fimbria
in a pro-
mising at-
tempt to
seize the
person of
Mithri-
dates at
Pitane.

yet he finally assembled so considerable an armament as enabled him to ride triumphant in the Ægean⁶¹.

Pergamus had, for more than two years, been the head quarters of Mithridates. In this city he had made his arrangements for the disastrous expeditions into Greece; and from the same place he had sent forces to quell the insurrections that were breaking out in various parts of Asia; and which, instead of losing strength, had multiplied and augmented in consequence of the cruel and treacherous methods which he took to suppress them. The Chians, in particular, after being subjected to a mulct of 2,000 talents, were perfidiously embarked, the men in one set of vessels, the women and children in another⁶², to be transplanted from their fair island to some gloomy district in Pontus. But a few armed ships belonging to Heracæa, a city long connected in commercial alliance with Chios, met and attacked the king's transports, and carried them into their own harbour. The Chians were received by their friends in Heraclæa, with the most cordial kindness, and were sent back, well provided with necessaries, to their native island⁶³. The many detachments from Pergamus much exhausted that garrison; a circumstance that escaped not the vigilance of Fimbria. Having defeated some of the king's forces in Bithynia, that officer hastened to attack him in his head quarters. Pergamus was surprised and gained; and Mithridates compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring seaport of Pitane. At this crisis, Fimbria's messenger came to Lucullus, then in the harbour of Colophon in Ionia, imploring, in the name of Rome, that he would block up the common adversary by sea, while a Roman army besieged him by land. But Lucullus refused cooperation, preferring the interests of his party to those of his country; and the king, being thus ena-

⁶¹ Plutarch in Lucullo.

l. vi. p. 266.

⁶² Posidonius apud Athenzum.⁶³ Memnon apud Phot. c. 35.

bled to escape to the island of Lesbos, soon afterwards rallied his forces in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont⁶⁴.

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But several months before this time, Mithridates, upon the discomfiture of his army at Orchomenos, in despair of success in Greece, had written to Archelaus to conclude peace with Sylla on the best terms possible; intending to ratify or annul the treaty according to future contingencies. At the request of Archelaus, Sylla granted to that general an interview at Delium, on the coast of Bœotia. Their negotiation did not linger; for Sylla also wished to terminate the war, that he might return to Italy, and punish his enemies there, as he openly declared to be his purpose. He required however that Mithridates should evacuate his western conquests; renounce all claims on Bithynia and Cappadocia in favour of Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes respectively; pay to the Romans 2,000 talents, and surrender to them seventy of his best galleys; on the fulfilment of which articles, Sylla promised to use his influence with the senate, to have him declared the friend of Rome. After concluding this transaction, of which Mithridates was apprised with due diligence, Archelaus accompanied Sylla into Thessaly, and from thence into Macedon; and was every where treated by him with such marked attentions, as countenanced the suspicion of treachery to his king, on the part of this Pontic general⁶⁵.

Archelaus' treaty of peace with Sylla. Olymp. clxxiii. S. B. C. 86.

In their way to the Hellespont, they were met by ambassadors from Mithridates, refusing the surrender of the galleys, and making difficulties as to certain districts in Paphlagonia, which the Romans regarded in the light of new conquests, but which the king affirmed to have descended to him from his ancestors. At the same time it was hinted, that should the negotiation fail, Mithridates would apply to Fimbria, from whom he had reason to expect more favourable terms. At a name so odious, Sylla said, "Fimbria is a rebel

Ambassadors from the king—Sylla sternly silences their cavils.

⁶⁴ Plutarch in Lucull. Auctor de Vir. Illust. in Fimbr. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxiii.

⁶⁵ Appian, Dion, & Plutarch in Sylla.

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XXVI.Sylla chastises the
Thracians.

whom I shall punish presently; when I have passed into Asia I shall know, too, the intentions of your master, who, instead of cavilling with me, about trifles, ought to thank me on his knees for leaving to him that right hand with which he signed in one day the death warrant of 100,000 Romans. The sternness with which these words were uttered, totally abashed the ambassadors; none of them had courage to reply: Archelaus only ventured to make intercession for the king and his ministers; and embracing Sylla's hands, intreated that he might be himself sent to Mithridates; since he had determined not to live, unless that prince accepted the peace which had been made for him. This request being granted, Sylla employed the interval of uncertainty concerning the king's real views, in chastising the Thracian tribes, who had recently betrayed their hostility, and who were, at all times, ready to disturb the quiet of the Macedonian frontier.

Interview
between
Sylla and
Mithri-
dates in the
Trojan
plain.

From this military excursion, he had returned to Philippi, when Archelaus presented himself with a joyous countenance, to say that Mithridates was willing to ratify all that had been agreed on, and anxiously desired a conference. This change of mind was occasioned by the boldness of Fimbria's operations, which we have already mentioned, and of which Mithridates had not to fear the renewal, should Sylla pass the Hellespont. He crossed that strait between Sestus and Abydus, with four legions, in vessels furnished by Lucullus. About the same time, Mithridates, with above 20,000 men, arrived at Dardanus in Troas. There, the interview of the chiefs took place, each attended by a few friends, in an intermediate part of the plain, between the two armies. At meeting, Mithridates tendered to Sylla his hand. The Roman, rejecting this offer, asked whether he was ready to abide by the peace which had been stipulated. The king remained silent. Sylla desired him to proceed with what he had to say, because he had come thither at his solicitation to hear him: "the conquered, who crave terms, must speak out;

conquerors, when they please, may keep silence." Mithridates then entered into a long discourse, tending to show that the Romans were the aggressors, and that nothing short of the intolerable wrongs which he had suffered, could have induced him to take arms against such ancient and such respected allies. He also made mention of his hereditary friendship with Sylla. The latter replied, "that he had heard nothing of the friendship between them, until he had slain 160,000 of the king's soldiers, and stormed two of his camps, of which the Romans had made prize:" then enumerating the many enormities committed by Mithridates, wherefore, he said, would you defend or extenuate deeds of such atrocity, for which, by means of Archelaus, you formerly begged pardon? Do you think that I, whom you feared at a distance, am come hither to debate with you about articles! The time for friendly discussion expired from the moment that we levied war to punish your crimes, and will continue to punish them while the occasion requires it. Mithridates replied, that he accepted the peace, such as agreed on by his ambassador. Sylla then embraced him, and this ceremony was the sole ratification of a treaty involving the fate of so many provinces⁶⁶. No written document, as will appear, was required on either side.

When differences were thus settled, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who attended in Sylla's camp, were sent for, and, being reconciled to Mithridates, had his consent to their peaceful reestablishment in their respective kingdoms. This, and the other articles of peace, were all carried into execution without farther difficulty; and Mithridates having surrendered seventy stout galleys, paid 2,000 talents, and evacuated his western conquests, retired into Pontus, secretly accusing the treachery of Archelaus of all the disgrace that had befallen him⁶⁷.

Articles of
peace car-
ried into
execution
—Arche-
laus sus-
pected of
treachery
by Mithri-
dates.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 4.
B. C. 85.

During the conference at Dardanus, Fimbria encamped at Thyatira in Lydia. Sylla had no sooner adjusted matters

Fimbria
deserted
by his le-

⁶⁶ Appian, *ibid.* c. 56. & seq. Plutarch in Sylla.

⁶⁷ *Id. Ibid.*

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gions—he
kills him-
self.

Olymp.
clxxiv. 1.
B. C. 84.

with Mithridates than he marched thither. Fimbria's legions being on the point of deserting him, that profligate man endeavoured to save his own life by employing assassins against his adversary. But this execrable design being discovered, the danger which threatened their victorious and lavish general provoked Sylla's troops into fury. They surrounded Fimbria's camp, loading him with epithets of reproach. That officer appeared on the rampart, desiring to see Sylla, a favour which, with good reason, was denied him. But Rutilius, one of Sylla's lieutenants, advanced and told him, that if he chose to quit the Roman province of Asia, in which another was proconsul, a safe road would be open for him to the seacoast. Fimbria replied, that he would find a better road for himself. He accordingly proceeded to Pergamus, and fell on his sword in the temple of Esculapius⁶⁸.

Proceed-
ings of
Sylla in
Lesser
Asia, in
Athens,
and in Eu-
boea.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 2.
B. C. 83.

His two legions took the military oath to Sylla; who, at the head of a resistless army, speedily settled to his mind the affairs of Lesser Asia. That country was punished for its defection by a fine of 20,000 talents, to be paid by 44 districts into which it was now divided, to the end that their respective amercements might be proportioned to their several measures of delinquency⁶⁹. Sylla, with his fleet and army, then sailed into Greece, and cast anchor in the Piræus. Athens was in ruins and desolation, in consequence of the obstinate resistance which it had made to him. He caused himself to be initiated, however, into its still venerated mysteries; ransacked the houses and effects of all who were found to have abetted the tyrant Aristio; and, on this occasion, made prize of the library of a certain Apellicon of Teios, containing the long unedited works of Aristotle. Being at this time attacked by the gout, Sylla passed over into Eubœa, and spent several weeks in that island for the benefit of the hot baths at Ædepsus; amusing himself, during his recovery, with buffoons and

⁶⁸ Auctor de Vir. Illust. in Fimbr.
Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxiii.

⁶⁹ Cicero Orat. pro Flacco.

sophists, and all persons that he could meet with of humourous or singular characters. He appeared indeed as perfectly at his ease, as if no important work had remained for him.

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Yet on his return to Italy, for which he now made preparations, he had to encounter with his six legions, somewhat reinforced in Greece and Macedon, fifteen generals, commanding collectively 225,000 men. His old enemy Marius had died of a pleurisy contracted by hard drinking; Cinna, a fit successor to that bloody usurper, had perished in a military mutiny at Ancona, while he endeavoured to force his legions on ship board, that they might carry the civil war into Thessaly. But the loss of these commanders was amply supplied by Norbanus, Scipio, Sertorius, Carbo, the young Marius, and many others, each of whom was likely to maintain a desperate conflict, and whose combined weight must have overwhelmed any general less preeminent than Sylla either in courage or in craft. It belongs to historians of the civil wars to explain how he seduced some armies and vanquished others, and, in the space of two years, made himself master of Rome, of Italy, and of the Roman empire⁷⁰. In punishing his personal enemies, and those of the aristocracy, which he called purging the state, he at first claimed no other title to power than the right of the sword. Afterwards the dictatorship was revived in his favour, a dignity that had lain dormant for one hundred and twenty years. It was conferred on him for an indefinite time; but before the end of three years, he had finished the work which he had undertaken, of extinguishing popular sedition, reestablishing the just authority of the senate and comitia by centuries, and of enacting such salutary laws as seemed essential to the maintenance of a government founded on the natural prerogatives of wealth, abilities, and virtues. Having done all this, he procured Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius to be chosen consuls; and then appearing in the forum, made a public

Sylla's wonderful successes against his own and the public enemies. Olymp. clxxiv. 3—clxxv. 3. B. C. 82—79.

⁷⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 81. & seq.

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Circum-
stances
which
damped his
triumph
and tar-
nished his
character.

resignation of his dictatorship, declaring to the people, that if any citizen had matter of charge against him, he was ready to answer it. Having dismissed his twenty-four lic-tors, he continued to walk the streets accompanied by a few friends, and afterwards retired quietly to his villa near Cumæ. Of all men who have aimed at great and extraordinary designs, none was ever more fortunate in accomplishing them: he died peaceably, within a year after his retreat, victorious over all his enemies. The triumph which he enjoyed at the retrospect in his own mind must, however, have been damped in proportion to the depth of his sagacity. The expedient of employing a military force to settle party dissensions, which in the vile and sanguinary example of Marius, was calculated only to produce hatred and disgust, was likely, from his own glorious success in reestablishing the commonwealth, to be construed into a precedent by more profligate sons of ambition. Yet, notwithstanding this great blemish in his public life, his name continued to be popular and respected, when his sword was no longer formidable; and he is the first of the Romans whose obsequies were celebrated with a magnificence of expense of which modern times cannot form an idea, since two hundred and ten loads of aromatics were consumed on his funeral pile⁷¹. From his contempt for unbounded power over a vast empire, from his perfect self-possession in moments of the greatest danger, from that lofty disdain of human affairs which made him despise even the fame of his own great actions, and ascribe them solely to the power of fortune, he might seem to have reached true magnanimity, if that noblest of the virtues were not totally incompatible with his deadly spirit of revenge⁷².

⁷¹ Plutarch in Syll. Conf. Plin. N.
H. l. xii. c. 18.

⁷² Appian. et Plutarch, *ibid*.

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Sufferings of Achaia and Asia. Tigranes diverted from the Roman war. Improvements in Armenia. The Romans defeated in Cappadocia. Mithridates' Thanksgiving for Victory. Cappadocia invaded by Tigranes, and drained of its Inhabitants. Bithynia bequeathed to the Romans. The Bequest intercepted by Mithridates. Lucullus takes the Field against him. His glorious Campaigns, and more glorious Administration. Tigranocerta taken. Mithridates' Letter to the Parthian. Sack of Nisibis. Intrigues in favour of Pompey. He suppresses the Pirates. His Success against Mithridates and Tigranes. Nicopolis founded. Syria reduced into a Province. Transactions with the Parthians. Meridian of Roman Greatness. Proceedings of Pompey in Jerusalem. Reflections thereon.

IN the course of the first Mithridatic war, which lasted scarcely five years, the provinces of Achaia and of Asia suffered deeper wounds than had been inflicted on them during the long and obstinate struggles among Alexander's successors. The plunder of the richest temples of Achaia to pay Sylla's army, while the exchequer of Rome was in the hands of his enemies, and the imposition of a general fine of 20,000 talents¹ on the involuntary rebels in Asia, were tolerable grievances compared with the many particular penalties imposed on various places at different times by the king of Pontus and the Roman generals, as they happened alternately to prevail; above all, the license granted to tax-gatherers, usurers, and greedy soldiers to prey on the property, and sport with the lives, of peaceful husbandmen and industrious citizens². To fill up the measure of calamities in those two illfated provinces, the confederacy of pirates, of

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Sufferings
of Achaia
and Asia in
the first
Mithridat-
ic war—in-
crease of
the pirates.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 1.
B. C. 84.

¹ Equivalent to nearly 4,000,000*l.* et Mithridat. Orat. ad Milites,

² Plutarch in Sylla, et in Lucull. apud Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 7,

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whose origin we formerly gave an account³, made a rapid and alarming progress during the relentless hostilities between the only powers that were able to repress them. Not contented with deforming the seas, they invaded Greece and the Greek colonies in Asia, desolated cities, plundered temples, and showed uncommon skill, as well as diligence, in occupying such harbours as were fittest for the purposes either of concealment or defence. Even during Sylla's short continuance in Lesser Asia, they obtained possession of Iassus, Samos, Clazomenè, and Samothrace, after stripping a temple in the last named place of 1,000 talents. In the course of a few subsequent years, their strength amounted, as will be shown, to 1200 well equipped galleys, and their strongholds to the number of 400; while the island of Crete, and the creeks in Cilicia, from Coracesium eastward, still continued to be the chief seats of their power, and great repositories of their plunder⁴.

Distracted
state of
Parthia—
aggran-
dizement
of Arme-
nia.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 2—
clxxv. 4.
B. C. 87—
77.

In commencing his war with Rome, Mithridates had promised himself a powerful and zealous ally in Tigranes, king of Armenia. But shortly before the former of these princes invaded the Roman provinces, Arsaces IX. of Parthia closed his long and successful career. He left no child behind him, and his kingdom was thrown into a civil war by the rivalry of his kinsmen Mnaskires and Senatrockes or Sinatruces⁵, the former of whom boldly combated for a crown at the age of 86, and having prevailed in the contest, held a turbulent reign for ten years longer, without totally suppressing his antagonist, who then became his successor⁶. This distracted state of the Parthian empire altogether diverted Tigranes from the affairs of Lesser Asia, by opening

³ See above, c. xxv.

⁴ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. et seq. Conf. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

⁵ Phlegon. apud Phot. Cod. xcvi. p. 265. Sinatruces is called Sintricus by Appian, (de Bell. Mithridat.

c. 104.) Sanatruces by Suidas, Sinotroces by Dion, Sinotroces by Lucian in Macrob. On medals we read Sinatrockes. Conf. Eckhel. Doctrin. Num. Veter. and Vaillant. Arsacid p. 78.

⁶ Id. ibid.

to him new and great views for the extension and improvement of Armenia. He recovered undisturbed possession of some frontier districts, which had been claimed by Parthia, and complete sovereignty of the seventy valleys⁷ which he had hitherto held as a sort of feudatory of that more powerful neighbour. Far beyond the dominion of his ancestors, he made conquest of various satrapies in both Medias, and in Atyria; and when any of his satraps or dependent kings, as they were called, displeased him, he ordered them to Tigranocerta, and employed them in his court in mean personal services⁸. At the same time he afforded a safe asylum to many useful classes of men, whom the troubles in the Parthian empire drove from Upper Asia. By such means, the industry and opulence of Armenia made advances equally important and rapid. The cultivators of peaceful arts flocked from perturbed regions to scenes of quiet and safety; and Tigranes, to have carriers at hand to second the commerce of his people attracted to him many tribes of Arabian nomades, who, when great profits were in view, feared not the most distant and hazardous journeys⁹. Before the close of the first Mithridatic war, the fame of Tigranes had thus diffused itself through all the countries around him; insomuch, that only a few months after Sylla's return to Italy, and that of Mithridates to Pontus, when the Syrians, tired of unceasing dissensions among the Seleucidæ, determined to look out for more worthy and more powerful protection, all men cast their eyes on Tigranes. By this popular election, the king of Armenia became master of Syria¹⁰; from thence he made inroads into Cilicia and neighbouring provinces, carrying from them many of their Greek inhabitants to replenish the Armenian cities, particularly his new capital Tigranocerta¹¹; and of several parts of Lesser Asia, as well as of all Syria, he kept possession for the space of fourteen years¹², till a new

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proud magnificence.⁷ See above, c. xxv.⁸ Plutarch in Lucull.⁹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 67. et seq. Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539. et Plutarch in Lucull.¹⁰ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 48. et seq.¹¹ Id. Mithridat. c. 67.¹² Justin, l. xl. c. 2. He says eighteen years, erroneously.

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Rebellion
in Colchis
—murder
of the
younger
Mithri-
dates.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 3.
B. C. 82.

conflict between the Romans and Mithridates, in which Tigranes finally and most unseasonably took part, destroyed the former of these princes, and laid the latter at the mercy of the victorious commonwealth.

The disgrace which the king of Pontus incurred in his warfare with Sylla, was attended with such consequences as might have been expected in his hastily raised empire. Colchis and Bosphorus were in arms; and the former kingdom demanded for its master a son of the sovereign from whom it had revolted. This son, named also Mithridates, had, unsuccessfully indeed, yet zealously served his father in combating Fimbria. The king therefore appeased the sedition by sending him to govern the Colchians; but soon afterwards the young Mithridates paid the sad forfeit of his popularity to the jealousy of the old ¹³.

Archelaus
persuades
Muræna of
the hostile
designs of
the king of
Pontus.

The disturbances in Bosphorus required a fleet and army to quell them. While Mithridates made preparations against this small but industrious and opulent state, Archelaus, his unfortunate general, sensible that he had fallen into disgrace with his master, seized an opportunity of effecting his escape to Muræna, who had been left by Sylla proconsul in Pergamus, with command of the Fimbrian legions. Muræna, in common with all his countrymen in military power, panted for the honours of a triumph, and was easily persuaded by the Pontic fugitive that the forces pretended to be levied against Bosphorus were destined really against the Asiatic dominions of Rome. Archelaus also apprised him, that Mithridates, under frivolous pretences, still retained garrisons in certain districts of Cappadocia. Upon this intelligence, Muræna took the field with a small but well appointed army, passed through Phrygia, which had long been annexed to the Roman province of Asia; and traversing Cappadocia, expelled the hostile garrisons from that kingdom ¹⁴. He then entered Pontus, and having crossed mount Paryadres, surprised Comana, a city distant only a few miles from the mountain,

¹³ Appian. Mithridat. c. 64.

¹⁴ Id. ibid. c. 64—66.

and long distinguished by its superstition and its opulence, its fairs and its festivals¹⁵. When Mithridates heard of this unexpected invasion, he sent ambassadors to Muræna with complaints. But these ambassadors had been chosen with little judgment. They were, as usual, Greeks, but persons little satisfied with their master, and who therefore were at no pains to promote his views, or even to justify his proceedings. They remonstrated, however, against the infraction of the recent treaty with Sylla, and appealed to that treaty for proving Mithridates to have been entitled, before war was levied on him, to all the consideration and forbearance due to a Roman ally. But Muræna denied, truly, that he had ever seen any such treaty; for, as we before mentioned, in the king's negotiation with Sylla, no written document vouching the articles of peace, had been required on either side¹⁶.

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embassy
of that king
to the Ro-
man gene-
ral.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 3.
B. C. 82

Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, Muræna resumed his operations, and ravaged the rich districts on both sides mount Paryadres; though it does not appear that he made himself master of any of the strongholds on the mountain itself, where Mithridates kept his treasures; nor that he ventured to attack Cabira, near its southern roots, where the king had a park and a palace, and also some valuable mines, we know not of what metal. Here too (the modern reader will smile at the information) Mithridates had erected a water mill, moved by one of the many streams that form the eastern sources of the Halys¹⁷. But this seemed to antiquity a circumstance deserving of notice, since mills wrought by the power either of wind or water, were, of old, objects of great rarity. To grind corn by the aid of horses or oxen was then the prevailing fashion; slaves were also frequently employed in that severe labour; and the ordinary punishment of a worthless slave was compulsion to ply his handmill¹⁸ to the

The dis-
trict Pary-
adres—its
distinc-
tion¹⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 555.¹⁶ Appian, c. 64.¹⁷ Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.¹⁸ Servorum nequam in pistrinumdedi dicebantur. Senec. de Benefic.
l. iv. c. 37. Plautus, et Terent.
passim.

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utmost measure of his natural strength, and often beyond it. After his two incursions into Pontus, Muræna, opposed only by a party of horse, which he cut off near Comana, returned into Phrygia loaded with booty.

Mithridates defeats the Romans in Cappadocia—a remnant of the vanquished escapes into Phrygia. Olymp. clxxiv. 3. B. C. 82.

Meanwhile, Mithridates having sent complaints to Rome of the first injury that had been done to him, a deputy arrived from the senate to examine matters on the spot. Callidius, intrusted with this commission, met Muræna in Phrygia, and there told him in public that he must cease from hostilities. But, after a private interview between them, Muræna, repassed the Halys, and having renewed his ravages in Pontus, reduced Mithridates to the necessity of repelling force by force. His old friend Gordius was first in the field, commanding the vanguard. The king followed in person. Muræna retreated across the eastern bank of the Halys into Cappadocia. Mithridates pursued him closely, forced him to a battle, and completely discomfited him. The greater part of the Romans was cut off; Muræna, with a feeble remnant, escaped by the mountains into Phrygia¹⁹: and Mithridates thus regained those districts of Cappadocia which had recently been wrested from him.

Mithridates' thanksgiving for victory—its fashion.

To celebrate his victory over enemies that had wantonly provoked his arms, the king of Pontus performed a sacrifice of thanks after the most solemn fashion of the great monarchs of Persia, from whom he claimed his descent. These princes were accustomed to sacrifice on the tops of the highest mountains, that the fiery symbols of their religious gratitude might embrace the whole circle of the heavens²⁰. In constructing the sacred pyre, the king with his own hands laid the foundation. The fabric rose from a broad base in regular stories of wood, gradually contracting as they reached the summit. The recesses or terraces thus formed on its sides, contained offerings of milk and honey, wine and oil, and an exuberant abundance

¹⁹ Appian, c. 65.

they considered and called god. l.

²⁰ This circle, Herodotus says, i. c. 131.

of the most precious perfumes. On the lowest story a copious banquet was provided for all present, and in which all present thought it their duty with thankfulness to partake. Such was the custom when the Great King sacrificed in Pasagarda²¹. But the lofty altar of Mithridates should seem to have been reared on mount Argæus, the highest in Cappadocia; from which travellers are said to behold at once the Euxine and Mediterranean²².

Shortly after this ceremony, and while Mithridates still continued in Cappadocia, Gabinius came to him as commissioner from Rome, or rather from Sylla, then absolute master of the commonwealth. Gabinius commanded Muræna to make peace in good earnest, and faithfully to maintain it. He then proceeded to the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia, to promote reconciliation between them. Through the interposition of a man, bearing the authority of Sylla, the whole business was speedily adjusted. Mithridates retained some districts in Cappadocia, to which he produced plausible titles, but gave one of his sons, a child four years old, as hostage to Ariobarzanes, that no farther encroachments should be made on him. To solemnize this peace, he held public carousals, at which he distributed rich prizes to those who quaffed the largest goblets, or sang the best songs. The skilful in repartee and buffoonery did not pass unrewarded. The Roman commissioner alone refused to take part in this disgraceful scene of intemperance and uproar²³.

Having settled his differences in Lesser Asia Mithridates was at leisure to attend his concerns on the remote northern shores of the Euxine. There, on his way to Bosphorus, he had to punish the bloody and irreclaimable Achæi and Heniochi²⁴, and did not reduce those mountaineers without losing great part of his army through the severity of the climate, cooperating with the fierceness and craft of the enemy. We know

Mithridates' peace with the Romans—the carousals with which he celebrated it. Olymp. clxxv. 2. B. C. 79.

Appoints his son Marcharès viceroy of Bosphorus.

²¹ Appian, c. 66. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 732. apud Phot. c. 38. Appian, c. 66, 67. Conf. Cicero pro Muræna.

²² Strabo, l. xii. p. 538.

²⁴ Appian, c. 102. Conf.

²³ Plutarch in Sylla. Memnon Politic. l. viii. c. 4.

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not what opposition he encountered in Bosphorus; but at leaving that peninsula, he established in it as king, or rather viceroy, one of his own sons named Machares²⁵, now the object of his affection, and shortly afterwards the victim of his vengeance.

Mithridates mortified in his attempt to obtain the ratification of peace in writing. Olymp. clxxvi. 1. B. C. 76.

This remote warfare did not divert his attention from the more important affairs of the West. None of his transactions with Rome had yet been recorded; they rested merely on oral testimony; and while this continued to be the case, Mithridates saw that he would lie at the mercy of every ambitious proconsul whom the Romans sent into Asia. Though historians, therefore, have considered the campaigns of Muræna, and the cessation of hostilities on the part of that general, as a distinct subject, forming what is called the second Mithridatic war, yet those expeditions seem not to have been viewed in the same light by the king of Pontus. He considered the work of peace as still unfinished, until the conditions of it should be formally confirmed at Rome, and transmitted to him duly authenticated in writing. For this purpose, his ambassadors were despatched to the senate; but as Sylla died before their arrival, the various applications made by them were treated with neglect, and they returned, bringing to their master, instead of secure peace and the honourable title of "friend to the Roman people," nothing but such mortification and disgrace, as, by a mind far tamer than his, could not have been brooked with patience²⁶.

Tigranes invades Cappadocia, and transplants its inhabitants. Olymp. clxxvi. 1. B. C. 76.

He set himself, therefore, with the utmost diligence, to recruit his army and replenish his magazines. While engaged in such preparations, he again applied to his son-in-law Tigranes, then in the height of his prosperity. The treaty between these princes had, for reasons above mentioned, produced no other effect than the depopulation of some districts in Cappadocia. In that kingdom, so closely allied with them, the Romans were most vulnerable. At the instigation of his

²⁵ Appian, c. 67.

²⁶ Appian, Mithridat. c. 67.

father-in-law, Tigranes passed the Euphrates with a great army; and without deigning to employ any pretence for justifying his invasion, began to ravage Cappadocia, and to make spoil of its inhabitants. As persons rather than property was his object, he beset the whole country with armed men, and hunted, as it were, the flying Cappadocians into his toils. Three hundred thousand of them are said to have been carried with him into Armenia²⁷.

Before the Romans were ready to revenge this injury, for their vassal Ariobarzanes seems to have thought himself fortunate in eluding the grasp of the invader, Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died, in the seventeenth year of his reign, bequeathing to them that country. This destination of his kingdom seemed to Nicomedes the surest expedient for saving the Bithynians from similar evils to those which had just fallen on their neighbours the Cappadocians. But the event did not correspond to his views; for Mithridates was no sooner apprised of his death and testament, than he marched an army into Bithynia, and made himself master of the kingdom. Immediately before striking this blow, which destroyed all hopes of peace, the king of Pontus, having assembled his forces in Paphlagonia on the frontier of the devoted country, addressed them in a long and animated oration, expatiating on his own wrongs and the boundless rapacity of the Romans, heightened by more unbounded arrogance. Of that nation he had two persons of great distinction in his camp. Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, who, after the wreck of Fimbria's fortunes to which they had been devoted, rather than serve under his adversary Sylla, had taken refuge with the public enemy. Mithridates received them with open arms, treated them with great respect, and having sent them on an embassy into Spain, concluded an alliance with Sertorius, who, through his extraordinary influence over the native Spaniards, had upheld the Marian faction for five years

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Bithynia
bequeathed
by Nico-
medes III.
to the Ro-
mans—Mi-
thridates
intercepts
this gift.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 2.
B. C. 75.

Mithri-
dates'
treaty with
Sertorius,
who still
upheld the
Marian
faction in
Spain.

²⁷ Appian. Mithridat. c. 67. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. and l. xii. p. 539.

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Advanta-
ges gained
by it on
either side.

against Aufidius, Metellus, and Pompey; and continued to defend it three years longer, till he was treacherously slain at Osca, near the roots of the Pyrenees, by his own lieutenant Perperna²⁸. According to the treaty between Mithridates and this able chief, the former sent to the latter 3,000 talents and forty galleys; the latter in return sent to the king of Pontus, Marcus Varius, formerly a Roman senator, and now vested with proconsular authority by a senate which Sertorius had raised up in his own camp in Spain, to oppose the designs and measures of Rome. Varius was accompanied or followed by several officers and soldiers, well qualified to assist Mithridates in a plan, which shortly before this time he had adopted, for arming and disciplining a great proportion of his troops on the legionary model.

These ad-
vantages
explained
by Mithri-
dates to his
army.

In his discourse to his soldiers, the king of Pontus enlarged on the benefit to be expected from this Spanish alliance. The Romans, he said, would be attacked at once from the West and the East; the seas, it was well known, had long been unsafe for them; and the city of Rome, which had grown large and populous by a perpetual series of crimes, was already suffering through great scarcity, and would soon sink under the pressure of famine. The time was at hand to take vengeance on those plunderers of nations and of kings; they are now divided among themselves; the best and bravest of them (pointing to Varius and the two Lucii) renouncing a country unworthy of their virtues, have come hither to assist our councils and to share the glory of our arms²⁹.

The con-
suls Lucul-
lus and
Cotta sent
against
him.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 2.
B. C. 75.

Meanwhile the Romans raised to the consulship Licinius Lucullus, the same person who had cooperated so ably with Sylla in the offices of questor and admiral. His colleague was Aurelius Cotta; the war with Mithridates was destined to both. It was intended that Lucullus should carry with him such reinforcements from Italy, as being joined by the troops

²⁸ Plutarch in Sertor. Sallust. Fragm. ²⁹ Appian. Mithridat. c. 69, 70. Hister. l. iii. c. 15.

in the Roman province of Asia, would raise his army to 30,000 infantry and 3,000 horse. Cotta preceded with a smaller army indeed, but accompanied with an admiral named Nudus, commanding a powerful fleet, the object peculiarly enjoined to him being the recovery of the maritime province of Bithynia. Cotta was a vainglorious man; of abilities altogether inadequate to his pretensions. Flattered with the prospect of combating the king of Pontus before Lucullus' arrival, whose levies had been retarded by factious tribunes, and of thus appropriating exclusively the honours of a triumph, he wantonly exposed himself to bloody defeats both by sea and land, and then shut himself up with his admiral Nudus in Chalcedon, a strong city opposite to Byzantium. A bar, consisting of chains of iron, which had been thrown across the harbour at Chalcedon, was burst through; Mithridates burnt four, and captured sixty, galleys³⁰.

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Cotta defeated by sea and land at Chalcedon. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

Lucullus was informed of these disasters in his camp on the river Sangarius in Phrygia, towards which he had advanced, after employing proper means for remedying great evils in the ill affected province of Asia. Through the cruelty of taxgatherers and iniquity of judges, many places in that province were so totally alienated from Rome, that upon Mithridates' invasion of Bithynia, they seemed ready to throw themselves once more into his arms. Disturbances had actually broken out in several districts; the proconsul Junius was unseasonably absent; and the insurrection would have become dangerous but for the following accident. It happened shortly before this period, that Julius Cæsar, having unsuccessfully arraigned Dolabella for malversation in his government of Macedon, sailed for the isle of Rhodes in his twenty-third year, to receive the instructions of Apollonius, a celebrated master in rhetoric. His ship was captured by pirates, and carried into Pharmacusa, a small island near the coast of Miletus. There, he remained in captivity with

Lucullus in Lesser Asia—his useful exertions there.

First memorable public service of Julius Cæsar. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

³⁰ Appian, c. 71. Plutarch in Lucull.

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his physician and two attendants, until other persons belonging to his retinue should raise fifty talents demanded for his ransom. The money was raised, probably at Miletus; and Cæsar, being set at liberty, sailed into the harbour of that city. Upon landing, he informed the Milesians of the presumptuous security of the pirates, and how easy it would be to surprise them. By the help of a very small proportion of the vessels then in the harbour, he offered to make the attempt next night, and to be answerable for the consequences. His proposal was accepted; the enterprise succeeded; and the pirates, who had carried him to Pharmacusa³², were now in their turn carried by him to Miletus, and from thence forwarded to Pergamus. It seems that Cæsar, while in their custody, had often threatened them in that coarse kind of raillery with which they were familiar, that, if ever he laid hands on them at any future time, he would certainly crucify them. Without waiting the orders of the proconsul, who was then in Bithynia, he determined to carry this threat into execution; though, in the adulatory language of historians, with the humanity that always characterized him, he first cut their throats, before he affixed their bodies to the cross³³. Having thus punished the pirates, he pursued his destined voyage to Rhodes, but had not remained long in that island, when he learned Mithridates' invasion of Bithynia, and the growing defections in Asia. This intelligence made him hasten thither, with an intention of marching against the insurgents, at the head of such provincials as he could prevail on to follow him. His spontaneous exertions in the public service were attended with much success, and strenuously persevered in until Lucullus crossed the Hellespont vested with consular authority, and at the head of a great army. Yet equity, not arms, was the expedient to which this respectable commander had recourse for settling the discontents in Asia. He restrained abuses on the part of publicans and other Ro-

³² Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 4. Vel-
leius Paternulus, l. ii. c. 41. Conf.

Plutarch in Lucull.

³³ Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 74.

mans, and corrected their unjust proceedings against unhappy Asiatics, long exposed to their unchallenged peculations. The evils which he could not cure, he was studious to mitigate; giving assurances that, after reducing foreign enemies to submission, he would spare no pains to root out every domestic mischief from the province²⁴.

Upon the news of his colleague's presumption and consequent disasters, Lucullus summoned a council. His principal officers were of opinion that the unfortunate Cotta ought to pay the forfeit of his folly, and to endure the evils of a siege in Chalcedon. Archelaus, Mithridates' revolted general, strongly abetted this advice, and exhorted Lucullus, without loss of time, to march forward into Pontus, where the enemy was most vulnerable. Lucullus dissented from the general opinion. He would not fly, he said, from the wild beast, to take possession of his lair; and to save the life of a single Roman, he declared to be, in his mind, a better service, than the acquisition of all the wealth in Pontus³⁵. He therefore gave orders for proceeding with due speed to the relief of his colleague in Chalcedon.

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Lucullus' generous resolution in favour of Cotta.

By this time Mithridates had assembled a mighty host, that, after gaining the strong cities of Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, and Cyzicus in an island of the Propontis, he might proceed southward, and overwhelm the Roman province of Asia. His galleys were 400; he had large bodies of horse; and his infantry is computed at 150,000 fighting men: their attendants, under the two general descriptions of servants and traders, far exceeded that number³⁶. The Romans, however, having that full proportion of force, with which they had often triumphed over countless armies, eagerly demanded battle. The general restrained their ardour, because, from the intelligence which he received of the state of the enemy's provisions from different straggling parties that happened to fall into his hands, he conjectured that, notwithstanding the

Views of Mithridates—his vast army.

²⁴ Plutarch, *ibid*.

³⁵ Id. *ibid*.

³⁶ Τριακοντα μυριάδας. Appian c. 72

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Lucullus
follows and
outwits
him.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 3.
B. C. 74.

supplies received by sea, so prodigious a host could not remain long in the narrow northern corner of the Peninsula. His conclusion was justified by the event³⁷. Mithridates moved from the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus, and fixed his camp at Adrastia, on the southern shore of the Propontis, directly opposite to the isle of Cyzicus³⁸.

Lucullus followed him at a due distance; and by a singular piece of good fortune, was enabled to occupy a post, near a village called Thraceia, most conveniently situate for distressing the enemy's camp. Lucius Magius, with the perfidy natural to deserters, found means of secretly communicating with Lucullus. In consequence of this intrigue, Magius persuaded Mithridates that it was unnecessary to guard the defiles leading to Thraceia, or to hinder Lucullus from fortifying that post in his neighbourhood. The nearer he approached, the more the king's affairs would be benefited; because the Fimbrian legions, composing the flower of the Roman army, would thereby find the greater facility in effecting their intended revolt. The mutinous spirit of these legions, not less notorious than their courage had been conspicuous, procured credit to the falsehood; and Lucullus thus possessed himself of a ground which, while his enemies besieged Cyzicus, was well fitted to intercept all resources from the great continent behind them. It might have been expected that the superiority of Mithridates' force would have encouraged him to break through the hostile lines; but he waited day after day in expectation of seeing the revolt of the Fimbrian legions, and when this hope failed him, he determined to prosecute, with the utmost vigour, the siege of Cyzicus, which contained vast stores of corn³⁹.

Obliges
him to
raise the
siege of
Cyzicus.

But besides a granary of corn, this respectable commonwealth had two other magazines, one of arms, and another of military engines⁴⁰. Detachments of its warlike citizens had

³⁷ Appian. Mithridat. c. 79—c. 72.
Conf. Plutarch in Lucull.

³⁸ Strabo, l. xii. p. 575.

³⁹ Appian and Plutarch.

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. xii. p. 573.

perished indeed in the double defeat of Cotta; but the great body of the people was animated with zeal in the cause of Rome, or rather of their own liberty. They resisted, therefore, one of the greatest armies ever brought into the field, and all the abilities of Mithridates seconded by skilful engineers and indefatigable artisans. Lucullus found means of communicating with the besieged, and intimating to them the great advantages which he continued to gain over the foraging parties of the enemy. These advices kept up their spirits, and encouraged them to hold out until the approach of winter, when the Euxine ceased to be safely navigable by victuallers. Mithridates being thus cut off from all regular supplies by sea as well as land, was reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. His vast army, weakened by disease, the consequence of scarcity or unwholesome diet, dissolved into still formidable masses, which pursued different directions. A numerous body, which marched westward towards the Hellespont, was destroyed by Lucullus, as it attempted to pass the *Æsepus* or *Granicus* rivers twelve miles asunder, and both of them then swoln by heavy rains. The king, it is remarkable, preferred the dangers of the sea to an encounter with the enemy; probably on account of the mountainous district of *Olympus*, which lay on his road by land, and on which he must have fought the Romans, on ground highly unfavourable to him. He sailed at first towards the Hellespont, where the superiority of his fleet had given to him *Parium*, *Lampsacus*, and other seaports, for allies. He then divided his armament, and leaving fifty ships with 10,000 men on board, to maintain his interest in that quarter, he proceeded with the far greater part on his voyage to *Pontus*⁴¹.

The flight of Mithridates was no sooner known to the maritime cities of Asia, than they brought to Lucullus such reinforcements as enabled him to overpower the squadron of fifty sail left behind by the enemy. This squadron had three commanders: *Varius*, the Roman senator, of whom we have

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Captures at
Chryse 50
of his ships
with 10,00
men.

⁴¹ Appian. *Mithridat.* c. 72. et seq. Plutarch in *Lucull.*

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before made mention; Alexander, a Paphlagonian; and Dionysius, a eunuch. They were all three captured by Lucullus, in the small island Chrysè, then an appendage to Lemnos, but since that time buried in the sea⁴². The eunuch drank poison; Lucullus ordered the death of the Roman; he reserved the Paphlagonian for his triumph⁴³.

Dreadful
calamity of
Mithri-
dates' fleet
in the Eux-
ine.

The misfortunes hitherto attending the king's arms were succeeded by a calamity far greater, and altogether without remedy. His fleet which he had raised with so much expense and industry, presumed to navigate the Euxine at a season when the reports of the moderns concur with those of the ancients in representing this sea as highly dangerous. It was assailed by a sudden tempest which raged many days without intermission: sixty ships were sunk, with 10,000 men on board; the rest were scattered and tossed among remote shores, which at different intervals of time, they deformed with their wrecks. The king was saved in a brigantine⁴⁴; and landed first at Sinopè, the principal harbour in Paphlagonia, and then at Amisus, the principal harbour in Pontus.

His mea-
sures
thereon.

Having witnessed at these places the dreadful extent of his disaster, he adopted, however, the best means in his power for yet withstanding the enemy. He wrote for assistance to his son Machares, viceroy in Bosphorus, and to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. He sent emissaries, with large sums of money, to allure the independent Scythians beyond Bosphorus to his standard. In person he marched southward from Amisus, through the beautiful plain Pharnaræa; from whence remounting towards the source of the Iris, he crossed the lofty chain of Paryadres to his favourite stronghold Cabira⁴⁵. In this mountainous district, an hundred miles distant from the sea, Mithridates had many fortified castles, containing his treasures, by a proper employment of which he expected, in the course of the winter, to be able again to collect a great army.

⁴² Pausanias, l. viii. c. 33.

⁴³ Appian, c. 76.

⁴⁴ Appian, c. 78.

⁴⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.

Meanwhile Lucullus, after enjoying *heroic* honours⁴⁶ at Cyzicus, prepared to march through Bithynia into Pontus. On the common frontier of those kingdoms he found but a precarious supply of provisions, but when he advanced into the heart of the latter, food, clothing, and every necessary of life was to be procured in the greatest abundance, and at the lowest prices⁴⁷. The territory was naturally plentiful, and had been enriched by the culture of ages without being once foraged by an enemy. This virgin country was now left unguarded at the mercy of the invader, most of the cities readily entered into composition with him, and thereby, to the regret of his soldiers, escaped depredation. Three places only made a vigorous resistance; Sinopè and Amisus, on the seacoast, and Thermiscyra, on the banks of the Thermodon. These sieges occupied the remainder of winter, without overcoming the obstinacy of Sinopè and Amisus. But a new city, contiguous to Amisus, which Mithridates had called Eupatoria⁴⁸, from his own surname, desired leave to capitulate.

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XXVII.Lucullus
marches
into Pontus
—extraor-
dinary
plenty of
that coun-
try.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 4.
B. C. 73.Eupatoria
capitulates.

Early in the spring, Lucullus prepared to pass over the heights of Paryadres, in order to offer battle to Mithridates, who, he was informed, had collected at Cabira an army 44,000 strong. Signals by fire announced to the king the approach of his enemy, but as the flower of his own troops consisted in cavalry, he anxiously waited for Lucullus's descent into the plain. The Roman general at length descended with much precaution; various skirmishes happened between advanced parties, in all of which the cavalry of Mithridates maintained a decided superiority: as often as the Romans

Operations
in Pontus
—Mithri-
dates' ca-
valry uni-
formly suc-
cessful.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 1.
B. C. 72.

⁴⁶ The saviours of cities were deemed equal in honour to their founders. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 102.

⁴⁷ A slave cost four drachmas; an ox one; goats, sheep, clothing, &c. were cheap in proportion. Ap-
pian, c. 78. These prices perhaps indicate the rates at which soldiers sold their booty, of which the great quantity suddenly acquired, rendered it of little value.

⁴⁸ This Eupatoria must be distinguished from another city of the same name, fifteen miles from the sea, on the conflux of the Iris and Lycus, and nearly midway from the coast to Amasia, the birthplace of the geographer Strabo, on the conflux of the Iris and Scylax. Of the inland Eupatoria we shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

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Presump-
tion of the
Asiatics
thereon—
their rout
and flight
of the king
into Arme-
nia.

Olymp.
clxxvii. 2.
B. C. 71.

were attacked by the enemy's horse, they had no means of safety, but by returning to the mountains. They thus found it impossible to keep open a communication with Cappadocia, from which country they expected to derive the greater part of their supplies; and were on the point of being reduced to distress similar to that which Mithridates had suffered at Cyzicus. But from a situation fraught with danger, not unmixed with disgrace, they at length obtained an opportunity of extricating themselves through the extreme imprudence of the enemy. Flushed with repeated and signal success, the Asiatics gave way to that blind presumption which is congenial to their character. Impatient of persevering in the same plan of campaign, of which they had already experienced the efficacy, they passed the mountains in great force, and coming to action in an intricate and narrow valley, where their cavalry could not render any service, they met with a defeat that appeared the more disastrous, because it was altogether unexpected. Neither the king nor Lucullus were present in the engagement; but the former first learned its event, and determined instantly to move his camp, lest the severe blow which he had received, should be followed by one still more decisive. His favourites and courtiers, who penetrated this intention before general orders were issued, began to avail themselves of the discovery. Their servants and wagons, conveying those troublesome and operose luxuries which usually incumber Asiatic armies, crowded the gates of the camp. At this sight the soldiers took the alarm, imagining that they knew not the worst that had happened; the camp was in commotion; the gates became the scene of uproar and bloodshed; all were in haste to depart without waiting the king's orders: and when Mithridates started from his pavilion on horseback, to quell the tumult, he was obstructed by the throng and dismounted. In this humiliating condition he was hurried along in the crowd, till rescued by some of his menials; then seated on a new horse, he crossed the eastern descents of mount Paryadres. From thence he hastened northward, ac-

accompanied by a small body of cavalry, and remounting to-
 wards the sources of the Euphrates, concealed his flight CHAP.
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 and his disgrace amidst the intricate and almost inaccessible
 valleys of Armenia⁴⁹.

Of this confusion in the enemy's camp, the Romans had not
 been slow to avail themselves. They attacked, destroyed, or How he es-
caped his
pursuers.
 dispersed all those still employed in collecting or transporting
 the baggage; but the rich spoils which the barbarians left be-
 hind them, arrested the pursuit, and made the rout less
 bloody than it might otherwise have been rendered. Mithri-
 dates, at a critical moment, is said to have owed his safety to
 a mule laden with treasure. The sacks burst, and displayed a
 resistless temptation to some Roman horsemen, who were in
 full view of the flying king: by which accident or contrivance,
 for whether of the two is uncertain, he eluded his pursuers⁵⁰.

Lucullus entered Cabira, and gave orders for summoning Incidents
in Pontus.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 8.
B. C. 70.
 the strong castles in its neighbourhood, containing treasures
 or state prisoners. The whole dominions of Mithridates now
 lay at his mercy, and nothing remained in order to complete
 his triumph, but to make himself master of the king's person.
 With this view he directed his march according to the best
 advices which he had received, towards the southeastern
 corner of the Euxine, through the country so graphically de-
 scribed by Xenophon, in his retreat of the ten thousand⁵¹.
 At Pharnacia, formerly Cerasus, he learned that Mithridates
 had sent orders for the death of his wives and female rela-
 tions, inhabiting a castle in that neighbourhood; that some
 had hanged themselves, and that others had drunk poison, or
 presented their bosoms to the dagger⁵². Grieved at this
 news, he proceeded to the district of the Taulantii, from
 whom he understood that the king, in his flight, having kept
 to the eastward of his pursuers, had escaped four days before
 into Armenia, with an intention, as Lucullus had no doubt,
 of soliciting assistance from his son-in-law, Tigranes. Here,

⁴⁹ Appian Mithridat. c. 81. et seq.

⁵¹ See History of Ancient Greece, c. xxvi.

⁵⁰ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁵² Plutarch & Appian, c. 82:

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Appius
Claudius
sent ambas-
sador to
Tigranes.

Treatment
of the
Greek ci-
ties in Pon-
tus—Si-
nope, Ami-
sus, Hera-
clæa.

Lucullus'
wise finan-
cial regula-

therefore, the Roman paused: Armenia was a powerful kingdom; its sovereign had wonderfully prospered in all his undertakings; the dominions from the Euphrates to the Grecian sea were amply sufficient to gratify the ambition of Rome and her general. More anxious to consolidate than extend his conquests, Lucullus contented himself with sending an embassy to Tigranes, demanding the person of the king of Pontus. This mission was intrusted to Appius Claudius, a young patrician, who was afterwards consul and censor.

Meanwhile Lucullus, having received the submissions of the Chalybians and neighbouring tribes, returned westward along the shore of the Euxine. Many cities readily yielded on terms, to the regret of the Roman soldiers, who would rather have assaulted and sacked them. The two Greek seaports, Amisus and Sinopè, distinguished themselves by an obstinate resistance, the former defended by Callimachus, the ablest engineer of his age, and the latter reinforced by pirates, in the interest of the king of Pontus. Callimachus, by setting fire to Amisus, endeavoured to disappoint the Romans of their booty⁵³; the pirates, when no longer able to hold out, betook themselves to their armed brigantines, and left the Sinopeans at the mercy of the conqueror. Lucullus treated both places with a lenity as honourable to himself as it was offensive to his greedy followers; reinstating the prostrate citizens in their possessions, and confirming them in the enjoyment of their free governments and equal laws, which, though often overwhelmed by the Persian and Pontic kings, had never ceased to be dear to them. The fate of Heracleæ Pontica formed a contrast with that of Sinopè and Amisus. Its siege had been carried on twelvemonths, by Cotta and Triarius, successively; and its capture was attended with the plundering of its temples, the burning of the city, and the massacre of most of its inhabitants⁵⁴.

In the progress of Lucullus westward, Ariobarzanes, was firmly established in the dependent kingdom of Cappadocia.

⁵³ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁵⁴ Memnon apud Phot. p. 743—747.

while Bithynia, according to the will of its late king, was completely reduced into the form of a Roman province. But the longest and most meritorious labour of this able statesman as well as general, was to remove the deep and complicated grievances under which the Roman subjects had long laboured in Lower Asia, that is, the kingdom of Pergamus and its appendages. Among the regulations which endeared him to the inhabitants of this invaluable and long oppressed country, was his rescuing them from the gripe of taxgatherers and usurers. He appointed all contributions to be raised from income, not from property; and to render them in some measure optional, he made their proportion to depend on the magnitude of houses, and the multitude of slaves or servants⁵⁵.

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tions in
Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

Lucullus had finished this useful work, before his ambassador Appius returned from Tigranes. Appius, it seems, upon entering Armenia, had been furnished with guides by order of the court. These men, whether to magnify their master's power by showing the vast extent of his dominions, or to accomplish some unwarrantable design which they entertained against Appius and his attendants, conducted them by very circuitous roads towards the imperial residence of Tigranocerta, but carried them altogether wide of the king, who was actually at Antioch, in Syria. Upon discovering this treachery, Appius dismissed those royal guides, as they were called, and trusted to a Syrian in his suite, who led him by the nearest way to the once renowned capital of the Seleucidæ, now a secondary city belonging to an upstart king of Armenia. Before returning into the proper road, from which he had so widely roved, Appius had an opportunity of hearing the complaints of many tributary princes and nations, neighbours and enemies to the Armenians: the king of Corduenè, a district among the mountains east of Tigranocerta, entered into an alliance with Rome; and the Greek cities in Syria expressed the warmest desire of throwing off the yoke

Appius
Claudius
reports to
Lucullus
the inci-
dents and
issue of his
embassy.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

⁵⁵ Appian. Mithridat. c. 83. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull.

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of the Armenians, who had begun to exercise over them the odious prerogatives of injustice and cruelty, uniformly claimed, as we have seen, by every dominant nation in Asia. The rotten state of Tigranes' affairs might have encouraged Appius to execute his commission with boldness, had he been less eminently endowed with that quality. He found the king of kings, as he affected to be called, just returned to Antioch, after subduing a rebellion in Phœnicia. He was surrounded by dispossessed monarchs, who served him as the lowest menials. A pair of dethroned sovereigns attended him on each side when he rode out on horseback; and strings of kings or satraps, on days of public audience, appeared in the presence hall, their hands interlaced with each other in token of the lowest humiliation and most abject servitude. Amidst this tyrannic pomp, calculated to overawe cowards, but to provoke brave men to anger, young Appius was introduced: he had come, he said, to demand the person of Mithridates, due to the triumph of Lucullus; in case of refusal he denounced a just war, since the protectors of delinquents ought to share their punishment. Tigranes ill disguised the agony of wounded pride under a forced smile of contempt; answering, that he would not surrender Mithridates, and if the Romans committed any act of hostility, he would make them to repent their presumption. Notwithstanding this defiance, he sent to Appius, at his departure, the customary presents. The Roman, that he might avoid giving personal offence, and at the same time testify his disdain of the king's wealth, accepted a single cup or goblet, and hastened back to Lucullus to acquaint him with the incidents and issue of his embassy⁵⁶.

Lucullus' march towards Tigranocerta to demand the person of

Upon learning the refusal of Tigranes to his requisition, Lucullus, who by this time had returned to Sinopè, determined to demand the person of his vanquished adversary by an armed force before the walls of Tigranocerta. With a view to

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Lucull.

this undertaking, he had contracted an alliance with Machares, king or viceroy of Bosphorus on the opposite side of the Euxine. The treachery of this favourite son of Mithridates thus seemed to cut off his father's retreat on the north: towards the west, his kingdom of Pontus was already occupied by the Romans; it remained to follow and seize him in Armenia, for which purpose Lucullus crossed the Euphrates with two chosen legions, and the proportional contingents of cavalry and allies. In proceeding through Sophenè and other districts commonly ascribed to the Lesser Armenia, the Romans observed the utmost forbearance and lenity; no hardship was imposed on the countries through which they marched. A castle was pointed out to them, said to contain great treasures; they wished to plunder it; but Lucullus showing them at a distance the highlands in their way to Tigranocerta, "these," he said, "are the castles we must first take, and then all the others will be our own." They passed the mountains which supply some of the many sources of the Tigris, and descended into the great Armenian plain, not only without encountering an enemy, but before Tigranes suspected their approach.

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dates.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

Prosperity and flattery should seem to have robbed that prince of his senses. He had refused to assist his father-in-law during the dependence of his fortune. After Mithridates had lost his kingdom, Tigranes provoked a war in his behalf; yet, with strange inconsistency, in the course of sixteen months had never deigned once to admit the royal fugitive to his presence. His behaviour was equally extravagant on being informed of the Roman invasion: "Take off the slave's head," was his reproof to the first unlucky messenger; and when, at a considerable distance of time, Mithrobarzanes, a prime favourite, ventured to repeat the same ungrateful intelligence, he detached him from Tigranocerta, that he might seize Lucullus alive, and trample to death his followers. But in the attempt to execute this commission, the Armenians were defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of their general. Tigranes, at the head of his guards, then quitted

Extrava-
gant beha-
viour of
TigranesThe Arme-
nians de-
feated and
Tigrano-
certa be-
sieved.

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the gorgeous walls of his capital, which were fifty cubits high, and of which the lower parts contained stables for his numerous cavalry. Instead of proceeding immediately against the well fortified camp of the Romans, he thought proper to wait reinforcements which he had ordered to assemble. To disappoint this view, Lucullus divided his army; one part of it, under Sextilius, attacked some tribes of Arabs as they were advancing to join the king, and put them to the rout; another, under Muræna, surprised the king himself, as he was marching through a long and intricate valley, and forced him to a precipitate flight, with the loss of his whole baggage, and many of his best troops either slain or made prisoners. Lucullus in person, with the main body, laid siege to Tigranocerta⁵⁷.

Tigranes disregards the sage advice of Mithridates and prepares for a new battle.

Humbled by his defeat in the valley, Tigranes condescended to see Mithridates. The latter exhorted his son-in-law by no means to risk a new battle, even for the relief of his capital. He must be contented, he said, to waste the country from which the Romans derived their supplies; to intercept their convoys, and to harass them by his light troops and cavalry, which would compel them to raise the siege, with the disadvantage of an enemy in full force behind them to annoy their retreat. This judicious advice gradually lost influence over the Armenian as his forces grew more numerous. They consisted not only of his native subjects, but of all whom his gold or his promises could draw to his standard; of the fierce independent tribes far beyond Artaxata on both sides the Araxes; of the Iberians, Albanians, and Mardi, the boldest warriors on the Caspian; of the Atyrians and Medes, under national chiefs or kings, recently emancipated from the broken power of Parthia. The whole army amounted to 200,000 foot and 55,000 horse; of which latter nearly one half were cataphracts, that is, as we have already seen, heavy cavalry, clad in steel, and armed with long spears. When

⁵⁷ Appian, c. 84—87. and Plutarch in Lucull.

Lucullus had news of the enemy, the specimens which he had already seen of their inefficiency, the necessary consequence of presumptuous folly and want of discipline, encouraged him to leave nearly half his strength under Muræna to continue the siege of Tigranocerta, while he hastened with the larger division, consisting of all his cavalry and 11,000 infantry, to oppose the Armenians, exceeding twenty times his numbers. He encamped behind one of the streams which, under the name of Nicephorius, falls into the Tigris. The king of Armenia had encamped on the opposite side, incumbered with all his operose luxuries; for, although Tigranocerta was invested, a party of his horse had penetrated to a castle in that neighbourhood, and brought to him in safety the royal concubines. The vastness of his army, contrasted with the paucity of the enemy, filled him with confidence; and as he had dismissed the cautious Mithridates, lest that prince should share the glory of his victory, his presumption, altogether uncontrolled, flourished in wilder luxuriance⁵⁸ under the rank flattery of his courtiers.

Before Lucullus could give battle, it was necessary to pass the river in his front. The shallowest part had been explored; it lay higher up the stream, which making a bend westward, gave to the Roman army in advancing to the ford the appearance of a retreat. The king beholding this movement from the eastern bank, exclaimed to those around him, behold the enemy in flight. Taxiles, whom we have before mentioned as one of Mithridates' unfortunate generals, had been left by him at parting with Tigranes, that he might use his utmost endeavours to make that prince avoid a decisive battle, and persevere in the slow but sure mode for relieving Tigranocerta, that had been so earnestly recommended to him. Taxiles had long been deterred by personal danger from interposing any advice obnoxious to the king's pride; but, on the present occasion, he ventured to assure him,

Lucullus' decisive victory on the Nicephorius. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

⁵⁸ Instead of terror, the Romans were a subject of derision. The king said, "they are numerous for an embassy, but too few for an army." Plut. in Lucull.

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that the movement of the Romans in maniples, with bright vestments and shining armour, indicated, instead of flight, a resolution of coming to immediate action. He had hardly spoken when, by a brisk motion to the right, the standards bearing the eagles advanced into the well known ford; and the eastern bank being gained, the line of march was instantaneously converted into an order of battle. Lucullus availed himself of the nature of the ground contiguous to the enemy's encampment. Behind it, there was an eminence of easy ascent, which overlooked the troops guarding the baggage and beasts of burthen. The decisive attack he determined to direct against this part; for which purpose he sent forth his whole cavalry to provoke a loose engagement with the enemy, and thereby mask his own movement with only two chosen cohorts towards the eminence in question. He ascended it unperceived, and then showing to his followers the baggage and infantry below them, while the horse skirmished on the plain, exclaimed, "the victory is our own⁵⁹." The Romans, completely covered with their bucklers, darted down with their massy and pointed swords to a massacre, not a battle. Surprise multiplied the terrors which they bore with them. The panic of those who guarded the baggage was communicated to the whole Armenian infantry; at the same time that the horse belonging to that nation being pressed on by crowds of fugitives from behind, now began to be vigorously assaulted in front and flank by the Roman cavalry. In this crowded scene, the long spears of the cataphracts proved altogether useless; being easily turned aside by the shorter and firmer weapons of their adversaries. The rout was now universal, and the pursuit being continued for twelve miles, until sunset, was attended, it is said, with destruction to nearly half the fugitives. Tigranes, with his son of the same name, were foremost in the flight. The king, to avoid discovery, divested his head of the royal diadem. The bearer of it was made prisoner⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Νικώμεν, ὡς αὐδῶμεν. Appian c. 85.⁶⁰ Id. *ibid*.

The dispersion of the Armenian army was followed by the capture of Tigranocerta. That proud city, decked at the expense of prostrate provinces, with its towers and palaces, its parks or paradises, and its immense opulence, became a prey to the Roman soldiers, and satiated their utmost avidity for plunder. The far greater part of the booty consisted in precious metals uncoined, and other valuable articles of finery or luxury; for offerings from all parts of his dominions replenished the treasury, and fed the vanity of Tigranes. Eight thousand talents⁶¹, however, were found in specie; from which each Roman soldier had the value of about thirty pounds sterling for his share. The capture of the place had been hastened by an ill judged precaution employed for its safety. Mancæus, who commanded in it as governor, upon beholding from his watchtower the ruinous flight of his master, though fit to disarm all the Greek inhabitants, fearing their concealed hatred to the Armenians. The Greeks, thus dishonoured, thought that some greater evil, perhaps a bloody massacre, awaited them. They assembled in crowds, communicated their complaints, seized such instruments of death as chance threw in their way, and uniting in one great body, with their garments thrown over their left arms instead of shields, defeated the Armenians who advanced to quell their mutiny. Having stripped the slain, they clothed themselves in their armour, gained possession of part of the wall between two bastions, or rather towers, invited the Romans within the place, and aided them in the conquest of it. This meritorious service did not pass unrewarded. Lucullus acknowledged to the Greeks the full extent of his obligation. All such of them as wished to return home, were sent back enriched to their respective cities; only those who were to have been employed by Tigranes as performers in his newly built theatre of Bacchus, were retained, by liberal rewards,

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Tigranocerta taken through the revolt of its Greek inhabitants — its vast riches. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

⁶¹ Nearly 1,600,000*l*.

CHAP. XXVII. to solemnize the thanksgivings of the Romans for their decisive and almost bloodless victories ⁶².

The object of the war attained.

Having divested Mithridates of his dominions, and chastised with due severity his proud Armenian ally, Lucullus wrote to the senate that the object of the war had been effected, and that commissioners might be forthwith sent to reduce into the form of a province the conquered kingdom of Pontus ⁶³.

Mithridates' compassionate behaviour to his son-in-law.

In the successive defeats of the father-in-law and of the son, the persons of both had eluded the grasp of the conqueror. Mithridates, from the slowness and caution with which he himself had been combated, had little suspected that the same assailants would overwhelm his ally, by audacity and celerity. He was distant several days journey from Tigranocerta, when the fatal blow was struck; and some flying parties, belonging to his son-in-law, first informed him, how that unfortunate prince, altogether unattended, and anxious only for the safety of his person, had escaped to almost inaccessible lurking places, in the northern and roughest parts of Armenia. Mithridates met him there, treated him with all the sympathy of a fellow sufferer, and having divided with him his own guard, and every other resource with which he was furnished, encouraged him to seek consolation in action, and strenuously to exert himself for collecting a new army, with which, better taught by experience, they might yet successfully make head against their common enemy ⁶⁴. At the same time both kings sent embassies into Parthia. The civil wars, which had torn that empire for nearly twenty years, ceased in the declining age of Sinatruces, who, to prevent the recurrence of similar evils; associated with him his son Phrahates III. in the government ⁶⁵, that it might devolve on him intire, without

⁶² Appian. Mithridat. c. 84, & seq.
Plutarch in Lucull. Memnon apud
Phot. p. 754. Dion. l. xxxv.

⁶³ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁶⁴ Id. ibid.

⁶⁵ Phlegon. apud Phot. p. 267.
Conf. Fragment. Sallust. Histor. l.
iv.

opposition after his father's demise. The same expedient, for obviating the calamities incident to disputed successions, had been employed, as we have seen, by the first races both of the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

As Tigranes had long been at variance with Sinatruces, and had turned to his own advantage the internal disturbances of Parthia by usurping several of its dependencies, particularly northern Mesopotamia, with its great city Nisibis, he chose to make his application rather to Phraates, the son of that prince; his actual coadjutor and destined successor. Mithridates, on the other hand, who had never been at war with Parthia, wrote directly to Sinatruces; and his letter, which is still on record, shows him to have been not less able in negotiation than he was strenuous and bold in action. To obviate the objection of exhorting the Parthians to mingle their own prosperous circumstances with the difficulties and dangers surrounding Tigranes and himself, he proved to them, by a clear deduction of facts, that peace was no longer in their power, now that the chance of arms had brought the Romans on their frontier. In this view he explained the proceedings of that people with regard to Macedon, Syria, and Pergamus: how they afterwards usurped dominion over Bithynia and Cappadocia: Pontus and Armenia, as nearest to those kingdoms in place, had also next to them, in point of time experienced the dire effects of boundless ambition and insatiable avarice. Hitherto, the Romans had prevailed through the disunion of kings, whom reason, honour, justice, and the strongest interest, ought to have consolidated into a hearty confederacy against them. The time, however, was not yet passed for undertaking this natural, nay necessary warfare. From the Euphrates to the Indus, the Parthian empire, now happily at peace within itself, commanded populous provinces, and the greatest cities in the world. The check suffered by Tigranes, had afforded an instructive lesson; the injuries, inflicted on himself, had inspired immortal revenge. By seasonable exertions against the common enemy, the Parthians might yet avert depredation on their borders, and for ever humble a power

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His letter
to Sinatru-
ces king of
Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

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that must either itself perish, or cause destruction to every other ⁶⁶. History has not preserved the answer to this spirited requisition. We are informed, however, that the government of Parthia was already in negotiation with Lucullus, and shortly afterwards treated more sincerely with the kings whom he had defeated.

Lucullus' proceedings in Corduene which won the affections of the natives. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

After the battle of Tigranocerta, and the taking of that city, the conqueror set at liberty all the reluctant inhabitants of the place, particularly the Cappadocians, who had been dragged thither, as we have seen, in such vast multitudes, though the number of 300,000 seems an angry exaggeration. He repaired also, to the utmost of his power, the injuries which his own arms, or the cruelty of his enemies, had inflicted. Among the allies, whom his fair renown had procured for him, the swift vengeance of Tigranes had indeed overtaken two persons of great consideration and dignity, before Lucullus could march eastward for their protection. The first of these was Zarbienus, king of Corduene; the second was Cleopatra Selenè, formerly queen of Syria, and who still retained some strongholds in that country, with the hope of transmitting them to her children. Zarbienus, it should seem, had ill concealed the treaty which, as above mentioned, he had entered into with Appius Claudius. In resentment of this transaction, which the pride of Tigranes construed into treason, that tyrant usurped the territories of his neighbour, and destroyed Zarbienus, with his wife and family. The intelligence of their destruction, incurred through zeal for Rome, gave much grief to Lucullus, which he expressed in a manner highly soothing to the afflicted Corduenians. He acknowledged their late worthy sovereign for his particular friend, as well as for the respected ally of the Roman people. To the subjects of the bewailed prince, he extended his immediate protection, removing their grievances, supplying their exigences, and celebrating with them the obsequies

⁶⁶ Sallust. Fragment. Histor. l. iv.

of Zarbienus with a magnificence chiefly derived from the spoils of his murderer. With the royal treasures of Corduenè, for much gold and silver had escaped the rapacity of Tigranes, he erected a sumptuous mausoleum to honour the memory of the prince, and to gratify the honest pride of the people. Moved by condescensions very unusual with eastern conquerors, the Corduenians opened their granaries to the Romans, containing 3,000,000, of bushels of corn; and were so much delighted with Lucullus, that they would willingly have followed him from their country with their wives and children⁶⁷.

Selenè, the mother of Antiochus Eusebes, had, for an offence similar to that of Zarbienus, been murdered⁶⁸ in Seleucia, a castle so named in Mesopotamia, at the distance of a few miles from Zeugma, the ordinary passage of the Euphrates. Her two sons, Antiochus and Seleucus, would have shared Selenè's fate, had not their good fortune withdrawn them from the tyrant's rage. At that time they were on their return from Rome, whither they had gone to urge their pretensions to the crown of Egypt, in right of their mother, daughter to Ptolemy Physcon. Alexander, the grandson of that prince, had been made king, as above mentioned, by Sylla; but Sylla was no more, and Alexander had incurred the resentment of his subjects, particularly of the inhabitants of his capital. His only competitor in Egypt was his cousin german, the bastard son of Lathyrus, who five years afterwards purchased the crown, as will be shown from Cæsar and Pompey, and is known in history by the surname of Auletes, the fluteplayer, added to the common appellation of Ptolemy. Having failed in their application to the senate, the sons of Selenè prepared to return into Syria; and on their way thither, the elder of them, Antiochus, distinguished by the epithet Asiaticus, landing in the isle of Sicily, was stripped of his most precious effects by the profligate pretor

Selenè the
queen
mother of
Syria murdered in
her castle
in Mesopotamia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

Her son
Antiochus
Asiaticus

⁶⁷ Plutarch. in Lucull. p. 512. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

⁶⁸ Josephus, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

CHAP.
XXVII.restored.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.Great
views of
Lucullus.

Verres, in the manner so circumstantially described and so keenly arraigned by Cicero⁶⁹. Upon his return to the east, Antiochus learned the death of his mother, and the calamities that had fallen on her murderer. He hastened to the camp of Lucullus, her avenger. Lucullus received him as his friend; acknowledged his rights to the throne of Syria, now vacant by the defeat and flight of Tigranes; and the protection of the Roman general enabled him to recover part of that country, and retain it for the space of four years, until the settlement of Syria, and all the other generous arrangements of Lucullus were disturbed or done away by Pompey, his invidious successor⁷⁰.

During Lucullus' stay in Corduenè, he was informed that the Parthians, while they protracted negotiations with himself, were on the point of concluding a treaty with his enemies. Upon this intelligence he wrote to his lieutenants in the conquered provinces, that they should send to him all the troops that could be spared with the utmost expedition. His design was to avail himself of the terror which his victories over the kings of Pontus and Armenia had diffused, and to aim such a bold and sudden blow at the Parthians, as should cause them to repent their perfidy. But he had the mortification to learn, that for reasons which will be explained presently, not a soldier could be expected from Pontus, or any part of the Lesser Asia. He was under the necessity, therefore, of abandoning his expedition against the Parthians, and of confining himself to such undertakings as might be accomplished by the forces already under his standard. The district of Tigranocerta, which he commanded, was a beautiful and extensive plain, having the mountains of Corduenè on the east, mount Niphates on the north, and a branch of mount Masius to the south. Mount Niphates was the ascent to the more northern and loftier regions of Armenia, into which Mithridates and Tigranes had thrown themselves to raise new forces, or to collect their scattered

⁶⁹ Cicero in Verrem, l. iv. c. 27.
& seq.

⁷⁰ Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull et
in Pompeio.

followers. Mount Masius may be considered as the solid base of Mesopotamia, whose sides are the Euphrates and Tigris; and the branch of the mountain just mentioned, separated the territory of Tigranocerta from the rich plain of Antiochia Mygdonia⁷¹ or Nisibis, which great and strong city, with other places conquered by him in northern Mesopotamia, Tigranes purposed to restore to the Parthians as the price of their alliance. Lucullus had thus two objects before him; he might proceed southward and attack Nisibis, which was but forty miles distant from Tigranocerta; or he might cross Niphates in pursuit of the confederate kings, and either bring them to a new battle, or intirely expel them from Armenia⁷².

The taking of Nisibis was the easier of these enterprises, and tempted by the hope of a vast booty; but the more difficult passage of Niphates was also more important, more glorious, and in some measure indispensable, since the Romans never deemed any war to be ended, unless the kings of their enemies had either suffered death, or been made prisoners. This reason decided Lucullus to march northward. It was the summer solstice, yet in ascending the ridge of Niphates he found corn still green in the valleys. He gained possession, however, of magazines well replenished by the enemy. He intercepted their convoys, he severely foraged their country; but none of his measures could tempt them to a battle, until he determined to march towards the vast and rich city Artaxata. This city, in which Tigranes had lodged for safety his wife and children, was 300 miles distant from Tigranocerta. To reach it, Lucullus passed through part of the same country traversed by Xenophon in his immortal retreat, and came to a river called by that writer the Teleboas⁷³, one of the largest tributaries to the Euphrates. On the northern bank of this river, the enemy had posted themselves,

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He crosses
mount Ni-
phates in
his march
to Artax-
ata.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

⁷¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 747.

⁷² Plutarch. in Lucull. Appian. Mithridatic. c. 84. et seq.

⁷³ "Tel" in Arabic signifies a river. The Teleboas of Xenophon is plainly the Azanias of Plutarch.

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Defeats the
confederate
kings on the
banks of the
Teleboas.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

His army
refuses to
proceed to
Artaxata.

determined once more to try the chance of arms. Tigranes, though assisted by the experience of his father-in-law, did not fight with more success than formerly. Their cavalry, indeed, sustained the first shock of the Roman horse, but the sight of the legions inspired terror into all parts of their army; and the rout was only less bloody than after the battle of Tigranocerta, because the numbers were less considerable, and the country more intricate⁷⁴.

The confederate kings made their escape by being foremost in the flight: they pursued the road towards Artaxata, with a view to put that city in a posture of defence, since it was nearly 200 miles distant from the scene of their defeat on the Teleboas, and a country interposed almost impassable for an army even at the autumnal equinox. The Romans had not long followed them through this rough tract before they found the roads covered with snow, and the rivers frozen over: the asperities of the ground cut and crippled the beasts of burden: among confined and intricate paths, the agitation of surrounding trees covered the bodies of the soldiers with their icy loads; and the cold, which was grievous on the march by day, became intolerable during the repose of night. Such sufferings might have provoked men not otherwise inclined to mutiny. But the seeds of every disorder, as will be explained presently, had been industriously sown in the army of Lucullus. He counteracted its seditious obstinacy by all the expedients becoming an able commander; but no inducements could prevail with his men to advance a step further on the way to Artaxata, that hostile city, which, according to current report, Hannibal, the greatest enemy of the Romans, had planned⁷⁵, and which now harboured Mithridates, an enemy not less inveterate.

Sack of
Nisibis.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

At this crisis it became necessary to return southward, by the easiest way across the mountains, and to descend into the plain of Antiochia Mygdonia, or Nisibis. To distress the enemy and gratify his soldiers, Lucullus assaulted and sacked that rich and populous city. Guras, the governor,

⁷⁴ Id. *ibid*.⁷⁵ Plutarch. in Lucull.

though brother to Tigranes, was treated indulgently; but Callimachus, the same engineer who had defended and set fire to Amisus, could not obtain pardon. He submitted to the humblest petitions, and offered to reveal hidden depositories of treasure, with which none besides was acquainted. But provoked with the disgrace reflected on himself by the burning of Amisus, an Athenian colony, Lucullus denied all mercy to the deliberate perpetrator of so dreadful an enormity⁷⁶.

The capture of Nisibis terminated the success of Lucullus, because from that moment the companions of his glory were converted into instruments of his disgrace. But the authors of his unmerited change of fortune were at a distance and in the bosom of Rome itself. The proceedings in the Proper Asia, by which he had restrained the extortion of taxgatherers, set bounds to the exorbitancy of usurers, and at once resisted the corruption of judges and the chicane of lawyers⁷⁷, exposed him to the rancorous enmity of all concerned in such abuses, and particularly to the keen resentment of the whole body of Roman knights. The clamours thus excited against a most meritorious commander, gained strength and effect from the unhappy circumstances of the times. In the progress of luxury and vanity, operating on almost boundless accumulation of external advantages, the Romans had come to that degraded state of society, in which there are comparatively so few individuals of real worth, that those who can best assume the semblance of it, and thereby acquire popularity, are exalted into beings of a superior order, and become the fond idols of vile tribes of weak or worthless votaries. An idol of this kind public partiality had erected in the person of Cneius Pompeius, the son of Cneius Pompeius Strabo, the only general who had triumphed, and that without any very substantial success, in

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Party
against
Lucullus at
Rome.

Popularity
of Pompey.

⁷⁶ Plutarch. *ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Odiū Romanis incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publica-*

norum, calumniarum litium. Mithridat. Orat. ad Milites, apud. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 7.

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the dishonourable war with the allies. In the civil war, which immediately followed the social one, young Pompey took part with Sylla, and maintained that cause with glory at the head of armies in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Africa, and Spain. At his return from Africa he was saluted by Sylla with the title of Great, before his twenty-fifth year, and triumphed for his victories over Domitius in Africa and Sertorius in Spain, while he had yet reached no higher civil dignity than that of a Roman knight; a thing unprecedented, and in every view unwarrantable, since the fundamental laws of the republic reserved the triumph for those only who had borne the offices of consul or pretor, and who, instead of suppressing, as Pompey had done, domestic rebels, had proved victorious over foreign enemies. Sylla perceived his too lofty pretensions, but as they aimed rather at honour than power, he viewed with little fear a man educated in his own school of policy, and who seemed to him totally devoted to the interests of the senate. He, besides, respected Pompey as one of the dearest of his personal friends, insomuch, that many were surprised when, at last, he showed a decided preference to Lucullus, both by dedicating to him his memoirs, and by naming him for guardian to his son⁷⁸.

His consul-
ship with
Crassus.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

After Sylla's death, and his own successful expedition into Spain against the rebel Sertorius, the last remnant of the Marian faction, Pompey obtained the consulship without having passed through any of the inferior offices of magistracy, which were the ordinary and legal steps for ascending to that dignity. His colleague was Licinius Crassus, a man ten years older than himself, distinguished both as an advocate and as an officer, but whose principal recommendation was his immense wealth, which enabled him to entertain the people at 10,000 tables, and to distribute among them corn for the supply of three months. The fortune of Crassus, after defraying these expensive gratuities, amounted to 7,100 talents, about 1,400,000 pounds

⁷⁸ Conf. Plutarch. in Sylla, et in Pompeio.

sterling; but considering the exchangeable value of money in those days, equivalent to three times that sum. This extraordinary measure of opulence had been acquired chiefly by purchasing confiscated estates in Italy during the time of the proscriptions, and by purchasing houses at Rome when exposed to danger from decay or conflagration. Crassus maintained, as it were, trained bands of builders, carpenters, and other mechanics, who were watchful either to avert harm from the houses which he had bought, or always ready at hand to repair it. By this means, many streets of the capital had fallen into his possession; besides which source of income, he kept great numbers of slaves, exercised not only in coarse laborious trades, but in reading, writing, keeping accounts, and cookery; from whose skill, let to hire, he derived a vast revenue. It is said that he refused lending his money at interest, though he often accommodated his friends with considerable sums, never omitting, however, to have recourse to legal means for recovery, when payment was delayed beyond the stipulated day ⁷⁹.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus, which happened in the same year that Lucullus conquered Pontus and pursued its fugitive king into Armenia, was marked by events fatal to the interest and the fame of that meritorious commander. By the authority of Pompey and the munificence of Crassus, and through the passion for popularity that domineered both, the constitution, which they had helped Sylla to establish at the price of so much blood, was completely overturned in the course of a few months. Within that space of time the senate lost its authority; the assembly by centuries, a legislature founded in property, was intirely set aside; the tribunes once more proposed laws in the tumultuary assembly by tribes; and the knights, of whom Pompey was regarded as the ornament and the patron, were again exclusively invested with nearly

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Changes
introduced
by them in
the govern-
ment.

⁷⁹ Plutarch. in Crasso.

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Mutiny oc-
casioned
thereby in
Lucullus'
army.

the whole judiciary power both in Rome and in the provinces. The effects of these alterations began soon to appear in the most distant parts of the empire, and more especially in the armies intrusted to Lucullus. By the creatures of Pompey, that general was accused of protracting the war, merely that he might enrich himself; the managers of the revenues and money lenders in Asia, consisting almost wholly of Roman knights, reechoed the accusation; sedition was first sown among the troops whom Lucullus had left behind him in Pontus: it was quickly communicated to the army with which he pursued Mithridates into Armenia, where Publius Clodius, a young man destined to much future infamy on account of his factious spirit and profligacy, though brother to Lucullus' wife, was among the foremost in crossing the designs and calumniating the character of his general. At the instigation chiefly of Clodius, the soldiers, after taking Nisibis, embraced the resolution of not advancing a step farther against the discomfited kings. Clodius confirmed their mutiny, by contrasting their own hardships in traversing mountains and deserts with the far happier lot of Pompey's soldiers, who, after short and easy services in Spain or Italy, had been settled in comfortable farms with their wives and families. Such as had still strength and spirits, he exhorted to reserve these advantages for a general worthy to command armies, and willing to enrich them; for the Great and generous Pompey⁸⁰, who delighted to make citizens of his soldiers, and to procure for them, as the fair fruits of victory, happy domestic accommodations and high political honours.

Mithrida-
tes thus
enabled to
reappear
in arms.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

By the delay of the Romans at Nisibis and in the neighbouring districts of Tigranocerta and Corduenè, Tigranes had time to fortify himself in the central parts of Armenia; and Mithridates, with 4,000 men furnished to him by that prince, and nearly an equal number who, amidst all his adversities, remained attached to his person, made an unexpected irruption into

⁸⁰ Plutarch. in Lucull. Conf. Dio. l. xxxvi. p. 15.

Pontus, and, wherever he came, revived in the breasts of his subjects that sentiment of loyalty which formed almost their only principle of virtue. The accessions thus acquired to his little army, enabled him to cope with the lieutenants whom Lucullus had left in the province. Fabius was defeated with the loss of 500 men, and shut up in Cabira. Triarius received a blow still more decisive on the banks of the Iris. Mithridates having put him to the rout, and taken possession of his camp, spoiled the bodies of the slain, who were found to exceed 7,000; and among them twenty-four legionary tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions; a loss, in point of officers, rarely sustained by the Romans⁸¹. In both these actions Mithridates, in his 69th year, fought with a juvenile ardour, and in both was wounded. In the pursuit of Triarius his wound was inflicted by a Roman centurion, disguised like a Cappadocian attendant. As the king's head and body were well guarded in mail, the centurion aimed his thrust at the thigh, and deeply pierced it. An uproar was excited; the pursuit ceased; the assassin was discovered and instantly despatched; and all ranks in the army crowded in confusion the plain around the body of their bleeding general. Timotheus, a Greek surgeon, dressed the wound, and causing the king to be raised aloft, showed him full of life to his anxious followers; an incident deemed the more honourable to Mithridates, because it had formerly happened to the Great Alexander⁸².

When Lucullus heard reports (for no certain messenger arrived to him) of the sad disasters in Pontus, he endeavoured to rouse his soldiers, through a sense of shame, to accompany him into that country, and to prevent the province, which they had subdued, from again falling disgracefully into the hands of their vanquished enemy. They followed him, but without due respect for their general, or much unanimity among themselves. Upon entering Pontus, he

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His victories and wounds.
Olymp. clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

The Romans and their conquests saved by the exertions of Lucullus.
Olymp. clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

⁸¹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 89.

⁸² Appian, *ibid*.

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found the troops there in sedition. It was with difficulty that he snatched the rash Triarius from their hands. By opposing this mutiny, he provoked still farther the general animosity against himself; and when it was understood that Acilius Glabrio, consul of the preceding year, had been named for his successor, the soldiers declared that they considered their service as ended, and demanded their dismissal. Lucullus omitted no expedient, however mortifying to his own dignity, to keep them six months longer under his standard; and his seasonable condescensions, as Acilius, a general of no account, never advanced beyond Bithynia, saved from the vengeance of the enemy those madmen themselves, as well as the conquests which, in their sounder mind, they had so gloriously achieved⁸³.

Proceed-
ings of the
party ad-
verse to
him at
Rome—
artifices of
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

The six months which Lucullus spent inactively, but, since he kept the enemy in check, not uselessly, in Pontus, were big with important events, which ultimately decided not only the fortune of the Mithridatic war, but the fate of the Roman commonwealth. Acilius Glabrio, a creature of Pompey's, had been sent to supersede Lucullus, but at the same time a commission of an extraordinary nature was conferred on Pompey himself, which would render it natural, nay, necessary, that he should in a short time supersede Acilius. This commission was granted on the motion of the tribune Gabinius; for Pompey knowing the senate and higher orders of men averse to all exorbitant prerogatives vested in any individual, applied himself wholly to the popular party, that is, to the assembly by tribes, and its managers the tribunes. As if no engine were too coarse for operating on such minds, he had taken an oath, at entering on his consulship, that after the expiration of it he would not accept, as usual with Roman magistrates, of any command or province abroad, by which he might enrich himself and his family. In fact, there were not any foreign employments vacant that could make him

⁸³ Plutarch in Lucull.

willing to leave the capital. The conduct of the war in Asia, long committed to other hands, was the only appointment which could compensate that sacrifice; and Pompey had the discernment to perceive, that, to render the war in Asia completely successful, it must be carried on by sea as well as land.

The Greek pirates had by this time become more formidable enemies than the confederate kings Mithridates and Tigranes. They had increased the number of their galleys and their strongholds. Their harbours, their places of deposit, their watchtowers and their prisons, were scattered over all the coasts of the Mediterranean; which were all of them, by turns, deformed by the rapacity and cruelty, the odious intemperance and noisy carousals of their crews. The vessels of the pirates exhibited a variety of forms the best adapted to different kinds of service; and to add insult to injury, many of them were adorned with the most preposterous magnificence; with purple sails, with gilded sterns; the very oars, it is said, were inlaid with silver. Not contented with capturing galleys at sea, they attacked the strongest harbours, and burnt the guardships of Rome in the port of Ostia; they invaded even the inland parts of Italy, carried off magistrates with their fasces, honourable matrons and noble virgins; every prize, in a word, that they deemed valuable intrinsically, or that tempted them with the hope of a rich ransom⁸⁴. Of these proceedings, Rome, as the mightiest power in the world, felt not only the principal shame, but, as a vast and most populous city, was exposed by them to peculiar danger. From the province of Africa, from Sicily, Sardinia, and from other fertile countries subject to her dominion, she imported annually above 70,000,000 modii of corn⁸⁵ (each modius weighing about twenty pounds), and

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Power of
the Greek
pirates and
danger
from them
to Rome
itself.

⁸⁴ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. et seq.

⁸⁵ About 40 years after this period, Augustus, as we shall see below, imported 20,000,000 of modii, or pecks of corn, from Egypt. Atrelius Victor. The quantity im-

ported from Africa was double that from Egypt. Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Stating the importation from Sicily and Sardinia collectively at only 10,000,000 of modii, the whole will amount to 70,000,000.

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Methods
hitherto
taken with
them un-
successful.

Pompey's
extraordi-
nary com-
mission
against
them.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
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requiring for its transport nearly⁸⁶ 700,000 tonnage of shipping. The obstruction given to the corn trade by pirates raised that article and all its substitutes to such a price in Italy, as threatened the whole country with famine. To obviate this evil, the Romans, in the course of the Mithridatic war, had fitted out various armaments, particularly, under Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, from his conquest of Isauria, the roughest and most warlike district in Pisidia; and under Metellus, a man of consular dignity, actually employed against the isle of Crete, which, next to Cilicia, was the main bulwark of the pirates⁸⁷.

Notwithstanding partial successes under these and other admirals, the price of corn at Rome did not diminish. The pirates easily repaired the losses which they sustained at sea, and when expelled from one stronghold found refuge in another. To cure the malady which preceding remedies had not even palliated, the tribune Gabinius moved a resolution, that Pompey, for the space of three years, should be invested with dominion over all the seas navigated by the Romans, and all the shores subject to their authority, to the distance of fifty miles inland; a description of territory that comprehended nearly the whole of the Roman empire, consisting mostly of seacoast. So extraordinary a decree was opposed by the senate, by the wiser and better part of the citizens, and most zealously resisted by the friends of Lucullus, who considered it as a plan for supplanting that general, and robbing him of his well earned laurels. To overcome this opposition Gabinius had recourse to a singular expedient. He caused a banner to be painted, with a view of a magnificent house, which Lucullus, it seems, had ordered to be built, and had this banner paraded through the streets to stigmatize the rapacity and vanity of this upstart peculator⁸⁸. The device succeeded;

⁸⁶ The weight of grain varies in different countries and seasons. The Gallic was the lightest, weighing 20 pounds the modius. The African was the heaviest, weighing 21

pounds nine ounces. Plin. N. H. l. viii. c. 7.

⁸⁷ Appian, *ibid*.

⁸⁸ Cicero pro P. Sextio, c. 43.

Lucullus became an object of reproach; and Pompey was extolled to the skies as the only man fit to save the country.

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With pretended modesty, Pompey affected studiously to decline the vast power that was offered to him; and to avoid envy, entered the city by night, while he made arrangements for raising and supporting an armament of unrivalled magnitude. He was to be furnished with five hundred galleys; one hundred and twenty thousand sailors, soldiers, and marines; a body of five thousand horse; six thousand talents in ready money, and an unlimited command over the Roman exchequer and receivers of revenue in all parts of the empire. These mighty preparations were completed about the end of winter. He set sail in the beginning of spring, and effectually executed his commission by the middle of summer. Before he left Italy, the public confidence in all his undertakings occasioned a sensible diminution in the price of provisions at Rome, so that war, in this single instance, afforded the promise of plenty⁸⁹.

His deep
artifices
and mighty
prepara-
tions.

The general expectation was not disappointed. None could have managed more skilfully than Pompey the extraordinary resources intrusted to him. Having chosen twenty-five lieutenant-generals or vice-admirals, for they were empowered to act in either capacity, he divided among them into as many departments⁹⁰ the whole expanse of the Mediterranean sea, allotting to each his particular station; while himself at the head of sixty stout galleys, sailed in pursuit of his prey, and chased the pirates, as it were, into the toils which he had industriously spread for them. He began with the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and the seas of Sardinia and Sicily; and and while his fleet sailed round the peninsula of Italy, he landed at Pæstum, and crossed the country to Brundisium, maintaining the state, and meeting with the submission due to a great monarch. The consul Piso, who was suspected of want of alacrity in obeying his orders, would have been

Pompey's
judicious
measures
for subdu-
ing them.

⁸⁹ Plutarch in Pompeio.

mirals and the departments are not

⁹⁰ The numbers of the vice-ad- stated uniformly.

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deposed by the tribes on a motion of the tribune Gabinus, had not Pompey interfered to prevent his degradation. Having reembarked at Brundisium, he pursued the same mode of warfare through all his eastern departments; the coasts of Greece and Macedon, of Asia Minor and the Isles, treating with well judged lenity such pirates as fell into his hands, which served as an inducement to others to make willing submission. In the space of forty days he had cleared the western seas; in about double that time, he as effectually swept the eastern. The pirates either submitted to his squadrons skilfully disposed for intercepting them, or stole to Coracesium and the neighbouring creeks of Cilicia, the primary source of their power, and also their last refuge.

His prudent treatment of the vanquished—the liberation of captives greatly redounds to his fame. Olymp. cxxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

Pompey pursued them thither, well provided with engines of battery, as if obstinate sieges were to have been expected. But he conquered merely by the terror of his preparations, and the mercy which he showed to his prostrate enemies. The pirates every where surrendered their shipping, with vast magazines of timber, sails, and cordage. In the course of the war 378 galleys were taken or sunk; and 120 harbours destroyed: 10,000 of the enemy were slain, and above 20,000 remained prisoners. By his proceedings towards these prisoners the conqueror greatly increased his fame. He carefully inquired into their behaviour and characters, and separated those who had been seduced by the force of example and ill advice, from those deemed irreclaimable. To the former he assigned several districts in Cilicia, made desolate as we have seen, by the ravages of Tigranes; particularly the territories of Mallos, Aduna, Epiphania, and Soli, which last named city being repaired and repeopled by Pompey, assumed, in honour of its benefactor, the name of Pompeiopolis. Another incident greatly conducive to his renown, was the liberation of numerous prisoners, whom he found in the hands, or strongholds, of the pirates. As these consisted chiefly of persons of high rank, belonging to all the countries

round the Mediterranean sea, they spread far and wide the fame of their deliverer, and as it seemed, their restorer to life, since many of them at their return home, beheld cenotaphs that had been erected for them by their bewailing friends⁹¹.

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During these transactions on the continent, some obstinate cities in Crete were still besieged by Metellus. Lappa, one of these cities, sent offers of surrendering to Pompey; who, without any intimation to Metellus, despatched his lieutenant Octavius to receive its submission. Metellus, the more justly piqued at this affront because the war of Crete had been committed to himself before Pompey was commissioned against the pirates, continued the siege of the place, and having taken it, dismissed Octavius disgracefully to his employer. In this bold act, the only one which showed in those times that Pompey was not yet sole master of the commonwealth, Metellus was afterwards supported by the senate, and obtained a triumph and the surname of Creticus⁹², from reducing to unconditional submission an island which had long abused its liberty. His triumph, however, was delayed three years through the opposition of Pompey's creatures⁹³. In point of right indeed, his conduct may be estimated variously. No part of Crete being fifty miles distant from the sea, the whole of that island might be ascribed to the extensive jurisdiction delegated to Pompey: but as the conquest of Crete was on the point of being completed before Pompey left Italy, it was highly invidious in him to interfere with a war so nearly terminated; and to treat with the Cretans, without the slightest intimation to Metellus, appears to have been equally irregular and arrogant.

Crete sub-
dued by
Metellus.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

The debates which might have arisen from this transaction were silenced by a question at Rome of far greater magnitude. Pompey having destroyed the pirates and restored plenty to Italy, it was proposed by Manilius, another tribune

Pompey
obtains a
commis-
sion by
which he
supersedes

⁹¹ Appian, c. 96.

⁹³ Cicero Academ. l. ii. c. 1. Conf.

⁹² Appian, *ibid.* et in *Histor. Sicil.* l. vi. c. 2. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 8. Sallust. *Catal.* c. 30.

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Lucullus,
and virtu-
ally sub-
verts the
common-
wealth.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.
Why abet-
ted by
Cæsar and
by Cicero.

in his interest, that he should remain in the command of the same armament, and that the inland countries of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Armenia, should be added to his province. This was not only to commit to him the war against the kings of Pontus and Armenia, but rather to subject to his authority the far greater part of the empire. The decree, highly offensive to the senate, was warmly opposed by Catulus and Hortensius. It was supported by Julius Cæsar, then in his 33d year, and who, having incurred the displeasure of good men, rather as a libertine than as a disturber of the state, in the affairs of which he had yet taken little part, was anxious to gain the multitude, and eager to trample on all those regulations which overawed the boldness of ambition. It was supported also by Cicero, a man of a totally different character, who then held the office of pretor, with a near prospect of the consulship. Cicero was in his 40th year, precisely of the same age with Pompey⁹⁴, whose popular virtues he admired, and seven years older than Cæsar⁹⁵, whose morals he held in abhorrence. It has been conjectured that in abetting pretensions in Pompey, which endangered the public liberty, Cicero was guided merely by interest, since his opposition on this occasion might have defeated his own election for consul. The writings, however, of this illustrious Roman, will warrant us in ascribing to him a different, though less obvious motive. With the love of virtue and the republic, which glowed intensely in the breast of Cicero, another passion unfortunately mingled of a less noble nature, the desire of popular fame. That this passion was immoderate, both his life and writings afford conspicuous proof. Fame was the prize at which he aimed; his weakness of bodily constitution sought it through the most strenuous labours, his natural timidity of mind pursued it through the greatest dangers; Pompey, who had fortunately attained it, he contemplated as the happiest of men, and was

⁹⁴ Velleius, l. ii. c. 53. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 28.⁹⁵ Plutarch in Cæsar.

led from this illusion of fancy not only to speak of him, but really to think of him with a fondness of respect bordering on enthusiasm⁹⁶. The glory that surrounded Pompey, concealed from Cicero his many and great imperfections; and seduced an honest citizen and the finest genius in Rome, into the prostitution of his incomparable talents for exalting an ambitious chief, and investing him with such exorbitant and unconstitutional powers, as virtually subverted the commonwealth.

Pompey was in the midst of his friends in Cilicia, when he received intimation that the Romans had chosen him to be their general in the East. Affecting much displeasure at this intelligence, he rejected the congratulations of those around him, angrily knit his brows, and striking his thigh in passion, exclaimed, "Is there to be no term, then, to my labours? Will my enemies never cease to load me with invidious honours, destructive of my repose, and dangerous to my fame and fortunes?" This excess of affectation appeared contemptible in the eyes even of his vilest dependents⁹⁷. They knew what pains he had taken to procure an appointment, which put the whole force of the republic at his disposal. They knew that the elevation just attained, was the fondest object of his ambition; nor were they ignorant that his joy in supplanting Lucullus, and intercepting the laurels due to that general, added peculiar zest to his delight, in contemplating the lofty prerogatives with which he was invested.

Could the farce which Pompey's dissimulation acted, have concealed his real emotions, the secret, however, would have been betrayed by the measures which he instantly and eagerly pursued. Careless of other affairs, his whole attention was directed towards the Mithridatic war. He sent messengers to the Roman generals, despatched ambassadors to foreign powers, and hastened in person into Upper Phrygia, that he might join Lucullus' army to his own, while his fleet, divided

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Pompey
general in
the East.
Olymp.
olxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

His pro-
ceedings—
return of
Lucullus to
Rome.

⁹⁶ See examples of this, even when Pompey was no more; particularly Orat. pro Rege Dejotaro.

⁹⁷ Plutarch in Pompeio. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 22.

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into separate squadrons, had orders to line the three seas that wash the peninsula of Asia. At Damalis, near the eastern frontier of Phrygia⁹⁸, he had a conference with the commander, whom he had been eager to supersede; this interview was with difficulty brought about by the interposition of common friends, and ended, as might easily have been foreseen, in heightening mutual disgust. Shortly afterwards, Lucullus, escorted by sixteen hundred men, with great riches and a vast library, set sail for Italy to claim his well earned triumph, which was opposed invidiously, but unsuccessfully, by Pompey's partisans in the city⁹⁹.

Negotiations with Phraates and Mithridates. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

Meanwhile Tigranes had been using his best endeavours to heal the wounds of Armenia, and Mithridates had taken post on the western frontier of Pontus, with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The latter of these princes sent to negotiate an alliance with Phraates III. of Parthia, but found, to his deep regret, his expectations in that quarter anticipated and frustrated by Pompey. He then despatched ambassadors to the Roman camp, requesting to know on what terms he might obtain peace. Pompey replied, "If you instantly collect for me all Roman deserters, and together with them, surrender yourself¹⁰⁰." This stern answer being communicated to the Cappadocian army, occasioned a degree of confusion and uproar that threatened a general mutiny. The deserters represented to their fancies the dreadful punishments prepared for them; the Cappadocians reflected on their own helplessness, should they be deprived of such zealous and skilful auxiliaries. To quell the rising tumult, Mithridates declared, "that no peace could be made with a merciless and insatiable enemy. He well knew the Romans; and if he had applied to them with an apparent view to accommodation, it was really that he might be the better enabled to ascertain their actual posture, and to penetrate their future designs¹⁰¹."

⁹⁸ Damalis is near the eastern extremity of Galatia, itself the eastern district of Phrygia. Strabo, l. xii. p. 567.

⁹⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

¹⁰⁰ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 98.

¹⁰¹ Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 22.

These designs Pompey did not long leave doubtful. With an army superior to the Cappadocians, even in point of numbers, he passed the river Iris into the richest district of Pontus, eager to bring the campaign to the speediest decision possible. Mithridates retreated before him, desolating the adjacent country on his march. To obviate the wants thereby occasioned, Pompey made dispositions for securing supplies from behind; and, as he advanced eastward, instead of directly following Mithridates, threw himself to the right on Lesser Armenia¹⁰², a strip of land on this side the Euphrates, separating at a place called Synoria¹⁰³, the kingdoms of Armenia and Pontus. Meanwhile Mithridates continued his retreat, regretting that by the desolation of one of his provinces, he had only forced the enemy to fall down on another. As he proceeded on his route, his army augmented by such numbers of irregular cavalry, that he began in his turn to want provisions and forage. This and other evils, suffered or apprehended, gave occasion to discontent and desertion: many fugitives made their escape; others were caught in the attempt, for which Mithridates punished them with the most barbarous cruelty; throwing them from precipices, boring out their eyes, and sometimes burning them alive¹⁰⁴.

The frequency of desertion, joined to the want of supplies, at length determined Mithridates to the bold design of surprising the enemy in the Lesser Armenia. But as the Roman divisions kept on the alert, he was obliged to occupy a strong post in that province, and to act on the defensive; yet the irregulars who had lately joined him, were subjected to severe losses, owing to that undisciplined fury characteristic of Asiatic troops; their mad confidence in success, their equally frantic despondency under misfortune; and on one occasion, the impetuosity of a body of horsemen in sallying dismounted, and without orders from the camp¹⁰⁵.

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Pompey's
campaign
against the
latter.

¹⁰² *Ἀρμενία Βραχυτέρα*. Appian, c. 90 and 105.

¹⁰³ The word denotes the meeting of boundaries.

¹⁰⁴ Appian, c. 97. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull. & in Pomp.

¹⁰⁵ Appian, Mithridat. c. 100.

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Defeat of
Mithri-
dates near
the destin-
ed site of
Nicopolis.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

In consequence of the enemy's dejection occasioned by these defeats, Pompey was enabled to get behind them, and to fortify a chain of posts in their rear. Upon learning this operation, Mithridates, fearful of being cooped up and starved, embraced the resolution of effecting his escape in the night, after he had slain not only his beasts of burthen, but all such sick and wounded as were unable to follow him. He then pursued his flight towards the nearest passage across the Euphrates, resting only in the hottest part of the day, and being closely pursued by the Romans, who by a forced march at the hour when the Cappadocians were in profound repose, again got between them and the river. Pompey, with admirable judgment, occupied the sides of a deep valley, through which the enemy had to pass, and into which they accordingly penetrated, believing that the Romans either followed far behind, or had intirely desisted from the pursuit. It was night; the moon had not yet risen; the Cappadocians were inclosed within the intricacies of a winding den. Under these circumstances, Pompey ordered the alarm to be sounded by shouts, trumpets, the clang of brazen vessels, and clashing shields, which complications of sound the neighbouring hills reechoed and rendered more frightful. The Cappadocian horse and foot thronged on each other with much mutual injury, while the Roman darts and javelins inflicted dreadful wounds on defenceless crowds, since equipped for a march, and unsuspecting of being forced to a battle. When the moon arose, its deceitful light farther augmented the evil, for as it shone from behind the Romans, occupying the eastern eminences, the Cappadocians discharged their missile weapons against empty shadows, which they mistook for ranks of enemies, while their own close order exposed them as sure marks to the Roman pila¹⁰⁶. In the surprise, the battle, and the rout, Mithridates lost a great army. Historians state the slain and taken at twenty thousand¹⁰⁷; many considerable divisions,

¹⁰⁶ Dion. Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 23. et seq. ¹⁰⁷ Appian and Plutarch.

however, effected their escape¹⁰⁸, particularly a mixed brigade of Asiatics and Europeans, armed after the Roman fashion¹⁰⁹.

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Towards the commencement of the action, the king, deeming his misfortune irretrievable, broke through a narrow outlet in the valley, at the head of 800 horse, and thus eluded the grasp of Pompey, as formerly that of Lucullus. Even this squadron, anxious for its own safety, gradually deserted him. He was left for three days with only three attendants, one of whom was his concubine Hipsycratea, mounting a Persian horse, and equipped like a Persian archer. This woman never departed from his side, nor ceased to soothe his sufferings, cautiously assisting him in traversing ravines or clambering over precipices, and, superior to fatigue as well as danger, dressed throughout the journey the king's horse and her own¹¹⁰. At length the fugitives encountered a body of 3,000 Cappadocian cavalry, which had assembled to reinforce their sovereign, and by whom Mithridates was conducted to the above mentioned fortress of Synoria, the principal of seventy-five¹¹¹ strongholds in that neighbourhood, containing precious metals and other valuable effects. The treasures in Synoria were now distributed by their owner, to the amount of 6,000 talents. He also, from the same repository, supplied his attendants with poison, as their last refuge against the eager pursuit of insolent and relentless foes. His design was to throw himself on the protection of his son-in-law Tigranes, through whose powerful assistance he expected to be soon able to resume hostilities.

Mithridates flies to Armenia.

But Tigranes had recently slain two of his rebellious sons by the daughter of Mithridates, and was engaged in war with the third. He suspected that the grandfather of these disappointed parricides was not unconcerned in their treason. He therefore detained in custody the ambassadors from the flying king, and fixed a price on his own head. Upon this intelli-

Then to Dioseurias in Colchis.

¹⁰⁸ Dion, *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Plutarch in Pompeio. Conf.

¹⁰⁹ This body of men will appear hereafter.

Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 6.

¹¹¹ Strabo, l. xii. p. 555.

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gence, Mithridates, instead of approaching Artaxata, where Tigranes then resided, directed his course towards the head of the Euphrates, and having traversed the mountainous tracts that lead into Colchis, proceeded through that country, without halting, until he reached Dioscurias, on its northern frontier¹¹². Here he stood on the confines of the fiercest nations of Scythia, many of them his friends, among all of whom his name was respected or terrible, and through whose encouragement he was stimulated to designs greater than any that he had yet meditated; and which were baffled, as will be seen, and made abortive, by a concurrence of incidents to be ascribed rather to the malignity of his own fortune, than to the power or policy of his Roman enemies.

Nicopolis
built and
peopled.
Olymp.
clxxviii. S.
B. C. 66.

Meanwhile, Pompey having contented himself with sending his light cavalry in pursuit of Mithridates, embraced measures for raising a lasting trophy to his fame in the new city Nicopolis, a name destined to commemorate a victory which he deemed altogether decisive. It was built near the scene of action, on the northern frontier of the Lesser Armenia, and in the neighbourhood both of the Araxes and Euphrates¹¹³, rivers taking their rise from mountainous sources only six miles asunder, though flowing, the former into the Caspian, the latter into the Persian gulph. Nicopolis was hastily peopled by aged or disabled soldiers, united with such natives of the neighbouring districts as chose to reinforce a community invested with many privileges, and sure of powerful protection¹¹⁴.

Pompey is
joined by
the younger
Tigranes.

While Pompey was employed in raising this monument of his eastern conquests, he was joined by an illustrious fugitive, the son and heir to Tigranes, and himself bearing that royal name. By the assistance of Phrahates III. of Parthia, whose daughter he had obtained in marriage, this younger Tigranes had divested the elder of great part of Armenia, and was prosecuting the siege of Artaxata, when commo-

¹¹² Plut. Appian, Dion.

Plin. l. vi. c. 9.

¹¹³ Conf. Strabo, ubi supra, et

¹¹⁴ Plut. in Pomp. et Dion. p. 25.

tions on the Scythian frontier drew Phraates homeward. After the departure of his powerful ally, the rebellious son was defeated by his father in a great battle; his followers were slain or dispersed. To avoid the dreadful effects of paternal vengeance, he at first fled towards his grandfather Mithridates, but upon learning the sad discomfiture of that prince, he saw no other resource than that of throwing himself on the protection of Pompey¹¹⁵.

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The general received him with that courtesy which the Romans always assumed towards those qualified to serve them. His father had provoked their resentment by invading Cappadocia, by desolating Cilicia, by possessing himself of Syria; above all, by abetting Mithridates, their mortal enemy. The military commission of Pompey embraced, therefore, Armenia, not less than Pontus; and now that Pontus had neither king nor army to defend it, and was ready to be occupied by legionary detachments by way of garrisons, an experienced and zealous guide was a matter of much importance in the invasion of a country so rough and intricate as Armenia. Such a guide having offered himself in the person of a fugitive prince, Pompey conducted the flower of his army into that kingdom, and advanced without making a halt until within sixteen miles of the capital. Terror preceded him to the palace of Artaxata; and a suppliant deputation came from the trembling king, whose abjectness in adversity was proportional to the odious insolence with which he had abused his good fortune. The deputies carried with them, as prisoners, the ambassadors recently sent to Artaxata by Mithridates, and surrendered them into the hands of Pompey. But this infamous present, instead of procuring favour, was treated by the Romans as an insult to the most sacred laws of nations; and their general, instigated by Tigranes the son, who expected to reap the fruits of his father's forfeiture, would listen to no terms short of unconditional submission. To this sad disgrace the haughty Armenian was compelled to de-

Invasion of
Armenia
and abject
submission
of its king.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 3
B. C. 66.

¹¹⁵ Appian, c. 104. Plutarch in Pomp. et Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi.

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scend; and the same man now laboured, by every mean expedient, to excite commiseration in Pompey, who had long trampled without mercy on prostrate kings of the East. He divested himself of his sandals or robe of royalty, but retained the tiara encircled with the diadem, to indicate the lofty state from which he had fallen; and opening the gates of Artaxata, issued forth with his friends and relatives to implore the invader's clemency. Apprised of their approach, Pompey sent a party of distinguished officers to meet them. At sight of this martial cavalcade, the attendants of Tigranes took fright, and fled in different directions; but the king rode forward till met by two lictors, who dismounted him, saying that no stranger could enter a Roman camp on horseback. They instantly conducted him to the tribunal of the general, at whose feet Tigranes, in order to mitigate his doom, abjectly laid his diadem. Pompey ordered him to resume the royal ornament, and raising him to his right hand, the son of the abased prince occupying the left, "Your submission," he said, "Tigranes, instead of depriving you of a kingdom, has gained you the Romans for protectors. You must relinquish, however, all claims on our side of the Euphrates, and pay six thousand talents to indemnify us for the expense of the war. On these terms you shall still reign in Armenia, resigning only the small province of Sophenè, on the left bank of the river, to your son, in whose favour you will likewise settle the succession to your crown¹¹⁶.

Brutal behaviour
and punishment of his
son.

This merciful decision, which filled the father with pleasing astonishment, exasperated the son to madness. That night, he refused Pompey's invitation to supper; he behaved to his father with brutal savageness; he immediately took measures for possessing himself of a fortress in Sophenè, which, as it contained the royal treasury, had been excepted in the grant of that district. The audacity of the young man, who laboured to excite a war on the part of Phrahates III.

¹¹⁶ Plutarch in Pomp. et Dion, p. 26.

of Parthia, subjected him to all the severity of Roman vengeance; he was, by command of Pompey, put in irons, and remained in that wretched condition until released by the hand of an executioner, after he had adorned the victor's triumph¹¹⁷. The father, meanwhile, readily discharged the fine of 6,000 talents imposed on him; and in addition to this sum, amounting nearly to 1,200,000*l.* bestowed a gratuity equivalent to thirty shillings on each Roman soldier; the value of thirty pounds on each centurion; and ten times the latter value on each tribune, that is, on every officer commanding a cohort or regiment¹¹⁸.

The cowardly munificence of Tigranes procured for his nation the title of a Roman ally. But as the first fruits of this coveted distinction, he had the mortification of seeing Pompey fix his winter quarters in the Armenian district Anaitis. This district, which was defended chiefly by the river Cyrus from the most warlike nations of Caucasus, derived its name from that of the goddess to whom it was immemorially consecrated. Either in her idol or in her worship, the Greeks recognised some affinity of Anaitis with their own Diana, and therefore too hastily distinguished her by that chaste name. For the temple of the Armenian Diana, being a great staple of trade, and a principal halting place for caravans, not only the ordinary attendants on the goddess, but many other females of the first families, sold their beauty without shame to wealthy strangers, and with the accumulated wages of prostitution were enabled, many of them, in the wane of their beauty, to purchase at will either husbands or lovers¹¹⁹.

The Roman army had not long cantoned in Anaitis, when the mountaineers in its neighbourhood were in motion. They suspected that Pompey only waited the return of spring to invade their territories in pursuit of Mithridates whose

Pompey's
war against
the Ibe-
rians and
Albanians.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

His victo-
ries and
return into
the Lesser
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

¹¹⁷ Appian, c. 105—117.

¹¹⁹ Strabo, l. xi. p. 532.

¹¹⁸ Plutarch in Pompeio.

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death or captivity seemed essential, according to Roman maxims, to an honourable termination of the war. Among those fierce tenants of Caucasus, the two tribes of Iberians and Albanians were the most powerful; the former living towards the Euxine, the latter extending to the shores of the Caspian. They were both of them in friendship with Mithridates, both alike hostile to the threatening Romans, but unfortunately for the success of their arms, too jealous of each other to concert any solid plan for their common defence. The chieftain Oræses, and his Albanians, were first in the field. Pompey, apprised of their movements, allowed them to cross the Cyrus, and then falling unexpectedly on enemies who had hoped to conquer him by surprise, defeated them with much slaughter, and drove them beyond the river. In the ensuing spring he invaded both the Albanians and the Iberians, who fighting singly, are said to have been successively subdued. Their numbers were formidable, since they sometimes mustered sixty thousand; but they trusted chiefly to their missile weapons, and they were clothed and defended only with the skins of wild beasts. When defeated, they found shelter in their deep woods; and the Romans, by setting fire to these lurking places, compelled various parties of both nations to surrender. But whatever may have been the extent of their submission, it is certain that Pompey, whether obstructed by the rudeness of the country, or by the obstinacy of the enemy, thought fit to return before winter into the Lesser Armenia, after a pursuit of Mithridates very unlike to that of Darius by the great Alexander¹²⁰.

Mithridates in Bosphorus — Tragic death of his sons Machares and Xiphæres. Olymp. clxxviii. 4. B. C. 65.

The king of Pontus, meanwhile, had fortified himself in the Chersonesus Taurica¹²¹, anciently the seat of the little kingdom of Bosphorus, with whose history my readers are not unacquainted. In the meridian of his prosperity, Mithridates had bestowed this kingdom on a son named Machares, who having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, slew himself in despair¹²², when he found that

¹²⁰ Dion, Appian, Plutarch.

¹²² Appian, c. 102.

¹²¹ The Peninsula of Crim Tartary.

his father had survived the rout of Nicopolis, and was approaching Bosphorus with a new army. The arrival of the king at Panticapæum, the principal city in the peninsula, proved fatal also to Xiphares, another of his sons. To this place, which stood on one side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Xiphares accompanied his father; Stratonicè, the mother of the young prince, then inhabited Phanagorea, situate on the opposite side of the strait in such a manner with regard to Panticapæum, that whatever passed at the one city might be distinctly seen from the other. In Panticapæum, Mithridates was informed that the same woman in whom he reposed such unlimited confidence, that he had intrusted to her Symphorium one of his richest treasuries, had betrayed her stronghold to Pompey, on his promise that he would spare her son Xiphares, should the chance of war ever throw that youth into his hands. The intelligence provoked the jealous king to a signal act of vengeance. Xiphares was slain publicly on one side of the strait, while Stratonicè was compelled to behold his execution from the other¹²³. In thus sacrificing an innocent son to the punishment of a guilty mother, Mithridates departed from the maxim that usually guided him, of observing a certain equitable discrimination even in his cruelties. Among those who were accomplices of Machares, the late rebellious king of Bosphorus, he distinguished between such persons as he had himself recommended to that unworthy son, and those friends and ministers whom Machares had spontaneously chosen. The former he punished as traitors; the latter he freely pardoned, observing that they owed nothing to him, and had rightly obeyed their master¹²⁴. His proceeding breathed the same spirit in the case of Attidius, a Roman exile of senatorian dignity, who, being taken into the king's confidence, basely conspired against his life. The Cappadocians concerned in this plot were subjected to lingering torture; Attidius' quality of senator procured for him the release of a speedy execution;

¹²³ Appian, c. 107.¹²⁴ Id. . 102

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His mea-
sures for
invading
Italy with
the assist-
ance of the
Scythians
and Bastar-
næ.
Olymp.
c. 1.
B. C. 64.

no punishment whatever was inflicted on the freedmen be-
longing to this Roman, who had only abetted their patron¹²⁵.

When Mithridates fled to the Chersonesus Taurica, he had higher objects in view than the mere safety of his person. The Romans were masters at sea; and Pompey, upon his return to the Lesser Armenia, had ordered his admirals in the Euxine to intercept all supplies to the fugitive king, and carefully to prevent his escape. But the forces aboard the Roman ships were unequal to the conquest of the Chersonesus. Besides hordes of warlike nomades from the confines of the Palus Mæotis, Mithridates mustered sixty well disciplined cohorts, each cohort consisting of six hundred men. He had strongly garrisoned Panticapæum and Phanagorea, the firm fetters of the Bosporus; he had gained many Scythian chiefs, by betrothing to them his numerous daughters by Greek women, for such intermarriages the Scythians then still more affected than did their descendents the Turks and Tartars afterwards under the declining empire of Constantinople¹²⁶. Even beyond the Scythians westward, Mithridates extended his alliances to the Bastarnæ, a German nation, as we have seen, though living on the right of the Vistula, through whose powerful cooperation he purposed to traverse Pannonia and Dacia, and to descend by the Rhetian Alps into Italy¹²⁷. His plan was precisely the same with that which a century before had been concerted by the fourth and last Philip of Macedon, only that the intended expedition of Mithridates embraced a wider circle. Both these princes discerned the quarter on which Rome was assailable, and both had prepared the same engines by which Rome was finally overwhelmed; when the king of Pontus, as formerly that of Macedon, perished in the midst of batteries which he had most ably erected.

Conspiracy
formed
against
him.

It is a remark savouring of Machiavelism, but nevertheless strictly true, that Mithridates, cruel and suspicious as he cer-

¹²⁵ Appian, c. 90.

tory of the Turks.

¹²⁶ Cantemir. History of the Ot-
toman Empire, and Knolles's His-

¹²⁷ Dion, Appian, Florus, l. iii.
c. 5.

tainly was, fell a victim to his forbearance and lenity. Stratonice had suffered in the execution of her son Xiphares, a pang sharper than death, and survived only to avenge him. This woman was the daughter of the Greek musician Castor, and had a kinsman of that name, whom like all her family, Mithridates had for her sake loaded with riches and honours¹²⁸. Being in great authority in Phanagorea, Castor concerted a revolt with the inhabitants of that place, many of them of Greek descent and his countrymen. The conspiracy broke out by the murder of Tryphon, one of the king's favourite eunuchs. The citizens flew to arms; overpowered such of the garrison as ventured to oppose them, asserted their ancient freedom as a Greek colony, and laid siege to a fortified palace, inhabited by three sons and two daughters of Mithridates. The sons had Persian names; Artaphernes, Xerxes, and Axathres: the daughters were called Eupatra and Cleopatra: a distinction of names bearing reference to the mixed extraction of the kings of Pontus, who boasted in the male line Darius Hystaspis, and in the female, Seleucus Nicator. Four of Mithridates' children thus fell a prey to the insurgents: Cleopatra alone escaped through her own courage, and the aid of some armed vessels sent across the strait by her father.

The revolt was contagious among subjects oppressed by exactions; and whose labouring cattle had been slaughtered to afford in their tough tendons, strings for military engines. The sedition infected Theodosia, Nymphæum, and other seaports of the Chersonesus: a party of 500 soldiers, who escorted the betrothed daughters of Mithridates to their Scythian lords, massacred the eunuchs who had the care of these females, and conveyed the blooming prize to a Roman squadron on the coast: and even Pharnaces, whom Mithridates had often shown to his army as the son whom he destined to wear his diadem headed a conspiracy for shortening the life of a man in his 73d year, and still superior in his

He discovers it, and pardons his son Pharnaces.

¹²⁸ Conf. Plutarch in Pomp. & Appian, c. 108.

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mind to the complication of evils which had assailed him: for in addition to war and treason, Mithridates was afflicted by an ulcer in his face; he was seen by none but the eunuchs skilled in physic, who attended him, and at length healed his wound; yet in this state of seclusion and suffering, he had discovered the perfidy of his son, and had been prevailed on to pardon it¹²⁹.

His death
and
character.
Olymp.
clxxix. 2.
B. C. 63.

This pardon served only to deepen the guilt of Pharnaces. He well knew that the corps of Roman deserters was peculiarly adverse to the expedition against Italy. They best understood the difficulties of such an enterprise; and they reflected with horror on the punishments that awaited them, in case their invasion was unsuccessful. Pharnaces roused their sedition: their angry spirits were infused into the contiguous division guarding the citadel of Panticapæum, where Mithridates with part of his family resided. Upon hearing the tumultuary uproar, the old man sallied forth in arms; his horse was killed under him; yet he boldly fought his way back to his stronghold, and continued to maintain it, till finding the sedition gain ground, and receiving no answer to repeated overtures sent by him to his son, he gave poison to those around him, among whom were two marriageable daughters, Mithridatis and Nyssa, respectively betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus. He then had recourse himself to the same direful cup, imprecating the Furies (for he had adopted the religion of Homer with his poetry) against the parricidal Pharnaces. On a constitution hardened, not withered by time, and fortified by antidotes of his own invention, the poison failed to operate. He therefore seized the dagger; and the firmness of his own hand was seconded by the kind cruelty of Bituitus, an old and faithful attendant¹³⁰.

Thus died Mithridates, "the greatest of kings, next to Alexander¹³¹." In this pithy panegyric, by one of the best judges

¹²⁹ Appian, c. 110.

Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cii. Oros. l. vi. c. v.

¹³⁰ Conf. Appian. Mithridat. c. 108—114. Dion, l. xxxvi. p. 34. 35.

¹³¹ Cicer. Academ. l. ii. c. 1.

of merit, much however is to be abated. In his royal virtues only, Mithridates resembled Alexander, and even here the likeness was a false one; for in the course of a long life he gave no indications of those lofty yet practicable enterprises, of which the Macedonian had in early youth set the example. Though conversant with Greek learning, and surrounded by companions, generals, and ministers of that nation, we see no marks of the zealous encouragement of arts and letters, which shone so conspicuously in the son of Philip; not to mention that his cruelty and lust and suspicion form a perpetual and dark contrast to that open frankness, that warmth of friendship, and that noble disdain for whatever is low and selfish in pleasure, which endear Alexander to our affections, not less than his vast designs and mighty achievements raise him, in our judgment, above all kings and conquerors.

In his reign of sixty years, Mithridates waged three wars with the Romans, which lasted collectively nearly half that period. Though neither his success in these wars, nor his judgment or enterprise in conducting them, corresponded with his bold threats and boastful preparations, yet the spirit and perseverance with which he so often renewed the contest, procured for him many warm and animated, rather than very discriminating eulogies. He is extolled as a general whose skill in contrivance was only surpassed by his boldness in execution, who was often superior in fortune, always preeminent in courage; and who, when apparently fallen beyond recovery, Antæus like, sprang again from the earth with renewed hopes and increased vigour¹³². Yet it appears from the preceding narrative, that in his three successive wars with Rome, his exertions were ever less strenuous in the subsequent than in the preceding conflict: his mind, however, continued to the end unsubdued; and his last fell purpose of conducting an army of Scythians and Germans

¹³² Conf. Appian. Dion. Plutarch. Paternulus, l. ii. c. 18.
Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 6. Velleius

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into Italy, throws a deep ensanguined glare around his setting sun, not unworthy of the bloody fierceness of his blazing meridian.

Pompey
takes pos-
session of
Pontus.

Mithri-
dates' vast
riches—
how amas-
sed by him.

Shortly after Pompey's return above mentioned into the Lesser Armenia, he marched to reinforce his army in Pontus, that, although he had failed of seizing the lion, he might at least make sure of his den. In occupying the strongholds of Pontus, and reducing that country into a province, many particulars were brought to light respecting the domestic management of Mithridates, and all perfectly harmonizing with the character which his public transactions have stamped on him. Of his seventy-five fortresses, several were found in the custody of women, a sex which he treated alternately with all the fondness of love and all the cruelty of jealousy. One of those fortresses, Talaura, astonished the Romans by the endless variety of its precious contents; 2,000 onyx goblets, tipped with golden brims; cups and cooling vessels without number; beds, couches, and other furniture, inestimable for their workmanship and materials; to which were added, housings for horses, adorned with gold and gems, and a profusion of bridles and breastplates of corresponding or still richer magnificence. Not less than a month was consumed in making the tiresome inventory¹³³. Part of these valuable effects had descended to Mithridates from his ancestors: a considerable proportion of them had been fairly purchased by a prince ostentatiously splendid; but a third, and perhaps the largest share, had been extorted from their lawful owners by an unprincipled despot, who acknowledged no moral restraint to the unbounded gratification of all his passions. One of the principal victims of his rapacity was Alexander II. king of Egypt, to whom, as above mentioned, he afterwards betrothed his daughter Mithridatis. That Egyptian prince, whom we shall see presently reduced to the state of a humble suitor in the camp of Pompey, had been sent in early youth to the isle of Còs by his grandmother Cleopatra, in the midst of her relentless wars with her son, Ptolemy

¹³³ Appian. Mithridat. c. 115.

Lathyrus. According to the custom of that age, the money and jewels which young Alexander inherited from his father of the same name, were deposited with him in the city Côs, capital of the island, under the security of its magistrates. The tempting prize was not to be resisted by Mithridates, who in the middle and meridian of his reign, being master of the Greek seas, made a descent on Côs, and possessed himself of this rich deposit, which was recognised at Talaura, among the other treasures found there by Pompey¹³³.

Had this general been as greedy of wealth as was his father Pompeius Strabo, the capture of Talaura would have gratified his fondest wishes. But he is said to have received more delight from objects of mere curiosity seized in another fortress, called Neonphrourion, or Newcastle. These were the papers and secret correspondences of Mithridates, which afforded a genuine and odious picture of his mind; showing how many persons he had destroyed by poison, among them many near relatives, and a certain illfated Alcæus of Sardes, who had the presumption to contend with him in the chariot race, and the folly to foil the king in that favourite pastime. To the boldest enormities, Mithridates, as commonly happens, added the vilest and most abject superstition. His hidden archives contained many interpretations of dreams or visions, that gave anxiety to himself or his women; they contained also the amatory epistles that passed between the king and Monima, the most favoured of his wives or concubines. The epistles of the former were penned with undisguised profligacy; and answered by the latter (whose miserable end we have above related) in the same disgusting strain¹³⁴. Pompey, a man of morals, when ambition did not seduce him, was careless of preserving such writings; but he carried with him the king's medical commentaries in Greek, and caused them to be translated into Latin, by his freedman Lennæus¹³⁵.

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His secret
papers.

¹³³ Appian. *ibid.* ¹³⁴ Plutarch. in Pompeio. ¹³⁵ Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 2.

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Calumnies
of Theo-
phanes,
Pompey's
historian.

Pompey, like almost every Roman general since the age of the Scipios, was accompanied in his expeditions by Greeks of learning and abilities, particularly Theophanes of Lesbos, his friend and historian. Theophanes gave out, that among the secret papers of Mithridates, he had discovered an old letter from a certain Rutilius, exhorting that prince to the horrid massacre, which twenty-five years before this period he had committed on the Romans in the East. Rutilius, against whom the herald of Pompey's fame urged this serious accusation, had been lieutenant to Mucius Scævola, proconsul of Asia; and in the administration of that most valuable province, the zeal of Rutilius had admirably seconded the integrity and vigilance of Scævola. His protection of the long oppressed Asiatics against the griping snares of Roman knights, exercising at once the functions of financial collectors and of judges, provoked against him the whole equestrian order at Rome, and occasioned his banishment from that city, on charges of extortion, the most incompatible with his character. For the place of his exile, Rutilius chose the pretended scene of his delinquency. He was received by all orders of men with the highest honours, and enriched by the voluntary contributions of their gratitude and respect, far beyond the mediocrity of his former circumstances. When Sylla restored the legal polity of Rome, and purified the seats of justice, Rutilius' condemnation was reversed, and he was invited home that he might participate in those preferments, from which his undeserved banishment had many years excluded him. But Rutilius, cured of ambition, preferred to remain among his friends in Asia, where he had dedicated his leisure to the composition of a Roman history in the Greek tongue, whether because this language was the more general, or because, through his long residence in Pergamus, it was become the most familiar to him. In this work, he had stigmatized the avarice of Pompeius Strabo, father to the great Pompey¹³⁶. This freedom was not to be forgiven by The-

¹³⁶ Plutarch in Pompeio.

ophanes, who being no more scrupulous of truth than many others of his countrymen in that age, invented the absurd calumny above mentioned; alleging Rutilius for the promoter of a massacre, of which he narrowly escaped being the victim¹³⁷, and traducing a man equally distinguished by humanity and probity, as prime mover in the most gigantic crime of the bloodthirsty Mithridates.

Before Pompey was informed of the tragical end of that prince, he had nearly completed all the important concerns intrusted to him. Having dissolved the kingdom of Pontus, he occupied all its strongholds, excepting only the sacred city, Comana. The government of this city, with its temple and dependent district, he assigned to the Cappadocian Archelaus, son to Mithridates' unfortunate or treacherous general of that name. The father, as we have seen, had been received into the protection of Rome; and the son with that liberality which Rome sometimes showed to her friends, was now raised to this priestly sovereignty¹³⁸, which opened the way to him, as will be explained in due time, to a still more exalted station. Besides subduing Pontus, Pompey had completely humbled Armenia. The elder Tigranes was his vassal; the younger, his captive. The province of Sophenè, which he had at first bestowed on the latter most unworthy prince, was now, together with the lesser Armenia, divided by him between Dejotarus¹³⁹, a Gallic or Galatian chief, who had done good service to the Romans, and Ariobarzanes I. king of the Proper¹⁴⁰ Cappadocia, who, for his fidelity to the republic, had been repeatedly divested by Mithridates of that dependent kingdom. But old age and the experience of adversity had disgusted Ariobarzanes with power. While he sat with Pompey in a curule chair on the pretorian tribunal, he espied his son in a corner below, occupying the vacant

Pompey's
arrange-
ments with
regard to
Armenia
and Cappa-
docia.

¹³⁷ Cicero pro Rabir. c. 10. Athenæus, l. v. c. 14.

¹³⁸ Appian. Mithridat. c. 64. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

¹³⁹ Strabo, l. xii. p. 547.

¹⁴⁰ Commonly called the Greater Cappadocia, in opposition to Pontus, the Lesser: but the mighty power of Pontus under Mithridates set aside this distinction.

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box of a clerk. The old man descended; stripped his head of the diadem, and prepared to invest with this ornament his beloved son, the faithful companion of many past sufferings¹⁴¹. The son was for the first time undutiful in rejecting the ensign of royalty; and Pompey's powerful interference was required to make him accept the resignation in his favour¹⁴². Ariobarzanes II. reigned many years a submissive ally to Rome, and after Rome became divided in itself, he perished in the civil wars.

His trans-
actions
with the
Parthians
—meridian
greatness
of Rome.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4
—clxxix. 1.
B. C. 65—
64.

This transaction happened in the Lesser Armenia, before Pompey reduced Pontus into the form of a province. From his new province he proceeded into the Proper Syria, while his lieutenants Scaurus and Gabinius spread the terror of their arms over the wider extent of that name, even to the countries beyond the Tigris. Phraates III. of Parthia deeply felt the disgrace, but was obliged to endure it amidst the revolt of his satraps, many of whom had assumed the title of kings¹⁴³, the hostility which he had provoked on the side of Armenia by abetting the rebellious and now captive son of Tigranes, and the alienation of Seleucia, with many smaller Greek cities within his empire, all of which rejoiced at commotions that might eventually loosen their uneasy yoke of dependence¹⁴⁴. Under these circumstances, however, Phraates sent repeated embassies to Pompey. In the first he interceded for the liberation from bonds of his son-in-law Tigranes, and at the same time exhorted the Romans to respect the natural boundary of the Euphrates. To these requisitions Pompey replied, that for his treatment of Tigranes the son, he would answer to the paternal¹⁴⁵ and paramount jurisdiction of Tigranes the father; and that the exertions of Rome would be confined within such limits as religion and

¹⁴¹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. et Strabo, l. xx. p. 539.

¹⁴² Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7.

¹⁴³ Plutarch in Anton.

¹⁴⁴ Appian. Lib. de Parth.

¹⁴⁵ The "patria potestas" was as exorbitant among the Persians as

among the Romans. Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. l. viii. c. 10. The Parthians, who may be regarded as renewing the Persian empire in the countries beyond the Euphrates, could not fail therefore to feel the force of this argument.

justice prescribed. In a second embassy, Phraates complained more bitterly of the invasion of his territories and the defalcation of his titles. Pompey, it seems, had addressed him simply as king, without ascribing to him the loftier preeminence of king of kings, assumed by his five immediate predecessors. The little satisfaction which Phraates received on either of these heads, made him resume hostilities against Tigranes, now strictly allied with Rome, and bold in the confidence of her protection. Pompey, with great dignity, avoided to make himself a party in this eastern warfare, and was contented with sending arbitrators to adjust the quarrel. His mediation was accepted, or rather his authority acknowledged by both kings¹⁴⁶; a transaction which marks the meridian greatness of Rome, since to any further predominancy in Asia that power never aspired with impunity.

While the negotiation, which concluded thus honourably, was carrying on with Parthia, Pompey had been employed in settling definitively the affairs of Syria. The disorders occasioned in that country through the vices and follies of the last races of the Seleucidæ, had been aggravated by the long tyranny of the Armenians; and after Lucullus expelled those invaders, renewed and perpetuated through the unfortunate mutiny in the army of that general, who, though he had reinstated Antiochus Asiaticus on the throne of Antioch, was thereby prevented from putting him in possession of any considerable portion of territory. The finest districts in Syria fell a prey to Jews and Arabs: a petty tyrant, Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus¹⁴⁷, established himself at Chalcis, the fair capital of Chalcidicè; usurpers, equally successful, reigned in other cities, with the pride and power of hereditary kings. While these upstarts trembled to hear their doom from the award of Pompey, a better hope was entertained by Antiochus, their common enemy, who came to him with complaints of their depredations. There came also Hyrcanus and Aris-

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Unhappy
state of
Syria.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Plutarch. in Pompeio.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13.

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tobulus, sons to Alexander Jannæus, late king of the Jews, of whom Hyrcanus the elder, a prince of a feeble character, had been supplanted in his sovereignty by the turbulent ambition of his younger brother. The list of royal petitioners was farther increased by Alexander II. the furious tyrant of Egypt, who, after a reign of fifteen years, marked only by insurrections among his subjects, had been finally precipitated from his throne by the rage of the Alexandrians; and his expulsion speedily followed by the inauguration of his cousin german, the bastard of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and himself named Ptolemy Auletes, from his proficiency in playing the flute, and more deeply disgraced by the appellation of Dionysus Neos, branding his effeminate ostentation and abominable profligacy¹⁴⁸.

Harsh dis-
mission of
Antiochus
XIII. Asia-
ticus.

Pompey, for reasons that will appear hereafter, rejected the petition of the dispossessed king of Egypt. In settling the affairs of Syria, he more sadly disappointed the hopes of Antiochus Asiaticus. At the solicitation of a party among the Syrians themselves, Tigranes of Armenia had reigned over them fourteen years¹⁴⁹. As the conqueror of Tigranes, Pompey, while he left that prince in possession of his hereditary kingdom, laid claim to all his usurpations, to the prejudice of the house of Seleucus. To the representative, however, of Seleucus, he had not any intention to restore them; though Antiochus Asiaticus, now soliciting his favour, was guiltless of any offence towards Pompey or his country. But the intended reestablishment of this Syrian king by Lucullus appeared, to the jealousy of Pompey, an odious stain in his title. He therefore dismissed the royal suppliant with the following harsh answer from his pretorian tribunal: "That if the Syrians, instead of rejecting, as they had done, the authority of Greek kings, still wished to live under them, he could not, however, consign that nation to the unworthiness

¹⁴⁸ Strabo, l. x. ii. p. 796. Conf. calumniæ.
Lucian. de non temere credendo ¹⁴⁹ See above.

of a prince, who, during many years that invaders were masters of his country, meanly skulked in an obscure corner of Cilicia; that there would be neither justice nor good policy in setting him over a people whom he had formerly abandoned in a cowardly manner to the Armenians, and whom, were he declared king, he would now tamely resign to the depredations of Jews and Arabs ¹⁵⁰.”

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After this transaction, Pompey made the necessary arrangements for reducing Syria into a province. He began that work by rooting out the little tyrants from the strongholds or cities which they had usurped. Ptolemy Mennæus alone, enriched beyond most others by his robberies, purchased his unmolested jurisdiction in Chalcis at the price of 1,000 talents. Pompey next determined upon an expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, whose incursions were often formidable on the side of Syria, and who, at one time, had possessed themselves of Damascus. But Aretas, the king as he is called of those nomades, sent his submissions and presents, before the legions reached Petra, a stronghold whose peculiarities were early commemorated in the present history. From the arrangements, subjecting Syria to Roman proconsuls, uniting civil jurisdiction with military command, Pompey made exceptions in favour of Antioch and its seaport Seleucia, which were declared free cities. The same title, more pleasing in sound than profitable in effect, was granted, or rather perpetuated to Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and other emporia on the coast, which, amidst the civil wars of the Seleucidæ, had often asserted their independence. The inland city Chalcis was sold, as above mentioned, to its cruel master Ptolemy Mennæus; and a prince styled Antiochus I. of Comagene, was permitted to hold, under an annual tribute, that vassal principedom, confined to a narrow but fertile valley between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates. Immediately to the south of Comagene, but on the opposite side of the river, the district Osrhoenè had, in the decline of the Syrian monar-

Syria reduced into a province.
Olymp.
elxxix. 1.
B. C. 64.

¹⁵⁰ Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

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chy, been occupied by Arabs. In Augarus, the chief of that district, Pompey found at once a zealous ally and a skilful courtier. The flatteries of Augarus procured for him many favours; but his professions of friendship to the Romans were insincere; and his unsuspected perfidy enabled him, as we shall see in due time, to inflict on that people one of the deepest wounds ever suffered by their commonwealth ¹⁵¹.

Civil war in
Palestine.

These various arrangements were made peaceably, and therefore without any occurrence deemed worthy of record. But the competition between the Jewish brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, was not so easily adjusted. As Tigranes king of Armenia had never carried his arms into Judæa, Pompey could not allege the pretence just employed by him with regard to the rest of Syria, for annexing that important southern district to his new province. But to the Roman eye, experienced in usurpation, an opening was quickly discerned for an authoritative interference. To this end, the interests of Hyrcanus, a prince of a weak character and pacific temper, were to be supported against the ambitious turbulence of his younger brother Aristobulus. The latter prince, perceiving in his judge the angry disposition of an accuser, abruptly quitted Pompey at Damascus, and hastened to the defence of his country, the dominion of which, though the Romans considered him as usurping it against the rights of an elder brother, he regarded himself as holding justly by the fair predilection of the Jews, founded on the incapacity of Hyrcanus for government ¹⁵².

The Romans on
their way
to Jerusalem
apprised of
Mithridates'
death.

Aristobulus' sudden flight happened before the humble submission of Aretas, chief of the Nabathæan Arabs: upon which agreeable event, Pompey returned into Cæle-Syria, and hastened to invade Judæa. Aristobulus, naturally of an inconstant character, and strangely agitated between hope and fear, repeatedly put himself in

¹⁵¹ Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 129.

de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

¹⁵² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. et

the invader's hands, but as often escaped to one or other of his strongholds; and finally to Jerusalem the capital. The Romans advanced within twenty miles of this city, and were forming an encampment near Jericho, when their labours were suspended by the sight of horsemen approaching them with great speed, their spears entwined with laurels. These were messengers from Pontus, bringing the first accounts to Pompey of the death of Mithridates. Eager to learn the good news from the mouth of their general, the soldiers, instead of waiting to raise, after the usual manner, a tribunal composed solidly of earth, piled hastily their packsaddles and baggage into a suggestum or pulpit, from whence Pompey announced to them the tragic end, as above related, of their once formidable adversary. The destruction of Mithridates, according to the maxims of Rome, seemed essential to the happy conclusion of the war. The certainty of this event diffused therefore the utmost joy: the whole remainder of the day was spent in congratulation and festivity; and next morning was far advanced, before part of the legions resumed their march towards Jerusalem¹⁵³.

Upon their near approach to that city, Aristobulus was again thrown into his agony of irresolution. At one moment he determined to mount his walls, but in the next he issued forth with ensigns of peace to implore the invader's clemency. Pompey heard from him with complacence the promise that his gates should be opened and his treasures surrendered, but detained him watchfully with himself, while he sent forward Gabinius, his lieutenant, to take possession of Jerusalem. Instead of open gates and submissive presents, that general was received with defiance hurled on him from the battlements. Upon intelligence of this outrage, Aristobulus was condemned to fetters, and Pompey made haste to assault Jerusalem. Through the assistance of Hyrcanus' partisans in the place,

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Jerusalem
taken by
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxix. 2.
B. C. 63.

¹⁵³ Plutarch in Pomp. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 6.

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he easily made himself master of the lower city, but the adherents to Aristobulus, including the priests and principal inhabitants, manfully defended themselves from the mountain of the temple. Pompey was obliged to order battering engines from Tyre. In consequence of this delay, and the strenuous perseverance of the besieged in repairing their shattered walls, the Jews resisted to the third month, and might have held out still longer, had they deemed it allowable to interrupt the enemy's approaches on the sabbath day. Upon a memorable occasion before mentioned, they had decreed that it was lawful on that sacred day to defend their lives; but the rigid spirit of their worship would not permit them to assume any farther latitude, not even to anticipate, on the sabbath, and counteract those operations by which their lives must be eventually endangered. Their defence was fierce and obstinate, but Cornelius Faustus pushed them with an intrepidity worthy of his father Sylla, and first entered by the breach. Many thousand Jews were martyrs to this manly resistance, including the most venerable priests, who, during the assault of the temple, ceased not to perform their daily rites, careless of mingling their own blood with that of their sacrifices¹⁵⁴.

His proceedings in
Jerusalem.

Their heroic composure is said to have excited the admiration of Pompey. That sentiment, however, did not hinder him from demolishing utterly the defences of Jerusalem. By the authority of his pretorian tribunal, the Jews were also divested of all conquests made under their Asmonæan princes; and Hyrcanus himself, in whose cause Pompey affected such deep concern, was stripped of his royal diadem¹⁵⁵, that, being reduced solely to his functions of highpriest, he might be ingloriously confounded with other princely hierarchs, tributary dependents on Rome. Not contented with inflicting these severities, Pompey wounded the Jews still more deeply, with no other view than the gratification of his own un-

¹⁵⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

¹⁵⁵ Id. ibid.

warrantable curiosity, intruding himself¹⁵⁶ in spite of their humblest supplications, not only into the Holy Place, but even into the Holy of Holies, from admission into which all men were at all times debarred, except the highpriest only, once in the year, upon the solemn day of the great annual expiation. CHAP.
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The capture of Jerusalem happened towards midsummer, in the same year that Cicero, being consul, defeated the Catilinarian conspiracy. Three years afterwards, that illustrious orator speaks of Pompey's proceedings in Jerusalem, in the well known pleading for Flaccus, who had been pretor at Rome in Cicero's consulate, and who had strenuously cooperated with him in saving the republic. Upon the expiration of his pretorship, Flaccus was chosen to govern the kingdom of Pergamus, long sunk into the Roman province of Asia; and was recalled from his administration in little more than a year afterwards, about the time of the secret formation of the first triumvirate. At that unfortunate period, when good citizens were liable to persecution merely for attachment to the constitutional rights of their country, Flaccus was arraigned for malversation in office. Among other iniquities charged on him, he was accused of seizing, in various parts of his jurisdiction, large sums of money belonging to Jews, and by them kept in readiness for transmission to their sacred treasury in the temple of Jerusalem. The fact could not be denied, and the odium of it, the accuser said, was justly aggravated by the very opposite behaviour of Pompey, who, though he had discovered 2,000 talents in the temple, most religiously respected this deposit in the moment of a bloody triumph over the obstinacy of its owners. The numerous partisans of Pompey reechoed the accusation and magnified the contrast, that they might do honour to their munificent patron, recently associated in power with Cæsar and Crassus, but whom they would have gladly seen sole master of the republic. Cicero's
account
of them.

¹⁵⁶ Id. *ibid.* et de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

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Cicero, in answering them, showed that in Italy the exportation of coin had often been prohibited, and particularly in his own consulate. "Flaccus," he said, "had wisely complied with the spirit of this prohibitory law, especially as by sending to Rome the gold destined for Jerusalem, he resisted and weakened the cause of a barbarous superstition. Pompey indeed acted otherwise; and wisely, since he thereby escaped the reproaches of a suspicious and calumnious nation; for I shall never believe that any regard for the religion of Jews and enemies was the motive of his forbearance. All states have their religion; we Romans have ours; while Jerusalem flourished, and before its inhabitants broke peace with Rome, the sacred rites of that people were deemed inconsistent with the institutions of our ancestors, the gravity of the Roman name, and the majesty of the Roman empire. Far more, assuredly, ought this to be our judgment now, when the Jews, by taking arms, have shown their hostile disposition towards us, and when their defeat and shameful subjection has proved how hostile the gods are to them¹⁵⁷."

Reflections
thereon.

These observations were made in the capital of the world, and by the man of finest genius in it, little more than half a century before the promulgation of the gospel. They are entitled to regard from the place, the time, above all, from the characteristic sagacity belonging to the mind of Cicero, who, according to an author, who well knew and long survived him, was endowed with a foresight bordering on divination; enabling him to predict many great events that happened during his own lifetime, and even to warn the succeeding age of things actually passing at the moment when the biographer wrote¹⁵⁸. Yet, clearsighted as Cicero was, with respect to the political vicissitudes of the world, he had not the smallest presentiment of a revolution in religious worship, infinitely more important; for with all his unwearied diligence and boundless curiosity, he had totally neglected a wonderful re-

¹⁵⁷ Oratio pro L. Flacco, c. 28. ¹⁵⁸ Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Attici, c. 17.

cord, which being long translated into Greek, was fully within his reach. A studious perusal of the Old Testament might have shown him that the ceremonies of Judaism, which he condemned as a barbarous superstition, were preparatory to a new and purer ritual; or, in other words, that the progress of the Jewish religion was destined to be directly the reverse of every other. This important truth, the preceding history evinces. Among the various forms of paganism, that have passed in review before us, many perished irrevocably, leaving no vestige behind. The mythology of the Greeks, though of a firmer as well as finer texture, shows most graceful in Homer, the first writer by whom it is described. In the compositions of subsequent poets, and still more in the narratives of historians representing its real and ordinary effects on life and manners, it is less alluring and less comely; and with farther advancement in years, it suffers a continual degradation in point of utility and beauty, until in old age its ugliness and perniciousness excite a mixed sensation of abhorrence and disgust. The same remark applies to the once useful superstition of Rome, most respectable in the age of Numa, by whom it was established¹⁵⁹: and were we to examine in detail the variations in other institutes of false worship, we should find universally, that instead of mellowing and improving with time, they perpetually, as years rolled on, became more abominable in their rites, and more destructive in their tendency. When all these deformed fabrics, and even the nations which reared them, have totally disappeared from the world, the Jews notoriously subsist, because precisely in that vagabond and abject state, which their own prophets, upwards of 2,000 years ago, denounced as their punishment. For, from the temple of Jerusalem, whose top was fixed in heaven, a second and purer worship was destined in due time to flow, which, while rejected by those who grovel-

¹⁵⁹ See above, vol. i. c. xii.

CHAP. led about the roots of the sacred city, gradually diffused itself
XXVII. far beyond the limits of the Roman, or even the Macedonian,
empire in the east: and communicated its benignant influence
to a new western world, of whose discovery, Cicero no more
thought, than of the Christian revelation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Pompey's public Services. Cæsar returns from Spain. The Triumvirate. Transactions in Cyprus and Egypt. Cæsar's Wars in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. State of the Eastern Kingdoms. Crassus' Expedition against the Parthians. Their burlesque Triumph in Seleucia Babylonica. Last Years of Ptolemy Auletes. Accession of Cleopatra. War between Cæsar and Pompey. Murder of the latter. War of Alexandria.

SHORTLY after the death of Mithridates, Pompey having secured his conquest by proper garrisons, returned with the greater part of his army into Italy. He often retarded his slow progress along the coasts and islands of Greece, to hear the sweet voice of praise, and to witness the celebration of his victories by many splendid solemnities. The Athenians repaid his generosity by unbounded flattery. He made a long visit to Lesbos, in company with his friend and historian Theophanes¹; and declared Mitylenè, the birthplace of that writer, a free city. The same favour he had bestowed on Gaddara in Syria, at the request of his freedman, Demetrius². To Rhodes, he was attracted by the renown of Posidonius, a man of universal knowledge³; who in the construction of an orrery or sphere had rivalled the science of Archimedes⁴; who had continued with increase of fame the general history of Polybius⁵; and whose name in speculative philosophy has been placed in competition with that of Aristotle⁶. Pompey chiefly valued him as a master in the art of life, and a teacher

CHAP.
XXVIII.
Pompey
returns to
Rome.
Olymp.
clxxix. 3.
B. C. 62.

¹ See above, c. xxvii. and Strabo, 34, 35.
l. xiii. p. 617.

² Plutarch in Pompeio.

³ ἄνθρωπος πολυμαθὴς. Strabo, l. xvii.

⁴ See above, vol. ii. p. 372. note, et Cicero de Natura Deorum. l. ii. c.

⁵ Suidas et Lucian. in Macrob.

⁶ He is considered by many as author of the celebrated treatise de Mundo. Meursius in Rhodo, p. 105.

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of practical wisdom; and to testify the most public respect to this great moralist, then acknowledged as prince of the Stoics, caused his imperial fasces to be lowered as he approached the gate of Posidonius⁷. In the whole of his progress, he showed the attention of a liberal mind, not only to eminent characters, but also to elegant monuments. The theatre of Mitylenè much pleased him, both as to its outward form and the inward configuration of its parts. He carried away with him a model of this building, that he might erect at Rome a theatre similar to it, only on a larger scale⁸.

High sense
entertained
of his pub-
lic services
—their
magnitude.

Having disbanded his army at Brundisium, he now approached the capital with a modest retinue, but with a degree of consideration and honour, which in a country still enjoying the forms of freedom, far exalted him above kings. His soldiers were dismissed with an injunction that they should return to him, when summoned, to celebrate his triumph⁹. Before this transaction, he had sent forward Papius Piso, one of his lieutenants, with a recommendation to the consulate, and a letter to the senate, requesting the election to be deferred until he should himself appear in person to solicit the votes of the comitia, for his friend. The delay was judged unnecessary. Piso was raised to the consulate with universal consent¹⁰. This proceeding, highly irregular in itself, seemed due to the glory of Pompey. The kingdom of Pergamus, formerly the extremity of the Roman empire, had, by the conquests of this general, become its center, he had brought seven hundred war galleys of the enemy into harbour: he had augmented provincial contributions from 8,000 to 21,000 talents¹¹: he had enriched the Roman treasury by the sum of 20,000 talents: and had distributed among his troops 16,000

⁷ Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 30.

⁸ Plutarch. *ibid*.

⁹ Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 40. Ap-
pian. de Reb. Syriac.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Pomp. et Caton.

¹¹ According to Plutarch from 50
millions of drachmas to 130 mil-
lions: the latter sum is equivalent to
4,362,000l.

talents, each legionary soldier sharing to the value of fifty pounds sterling¹². CHAP.
XXVIII.

With such merits, had he been inclined, instead of enjoying the most splendid triumph ever exhibited at Rome, to make himself absolute master of that city, the arms, as well as voices of the multitude would have seconded his ambition. But Pompey, as yet, entertained not any such unprincipled purpose; he wished to carry the favourable sentiments of all ranks along with him, and to enjoy the good will, not less of the senate than of the people. In that once august council, Lucullus, with his numerous partisans, opposed him from resentment; Crassus, with other ambitious chiefs, from interference of views and interests; Cato and Catulus, with men of that honourable stamp, from real principles of patriotism; indignant at seeing the advantages and honours which were the patrimony of the Roman people, subjected to the will of any individual, however illustrious¹³.

The year preceding Pompey's triumph, Julius Cæsar, who, in every unconstitutional claim, had hitherto been his abettor, obtained, after a most popular pretorship, his first province in the Farther Spain. His largesses and exhibitions during his magistracy had cost him large sums; his profligacy and bribery had been still more expensive. At departing for his government, he acknowledged that he owed a hundred millions Roman money¹⁴; but the interposition of the wealthy Crassus procured him a respite from his creditors; and in the space of two years he returned from Lusitania and Bætica, countries, whose great opulence has been above accounted for, with the means of supplying his own wants, after he had fully gratified the expectations of his army. Upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, both Spains had been formed into provinces, and forty years before Cæsar's pretorship,

Pompey's
opponents
in the se-
nate.

Julius Cæ-
sar returns
from his
province in
Spain.
Olymp.
cxxx. 1.
B. C. 69.

¹² See the proud titles of his triumph. Plin. l. vii. c. 26. Conf. Plutarch. in Pomp.

¹³ Plutarch in Caton.

¹⁴ A million of sesterces being equivalent to 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, Cæsar owed 807,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

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He reconciles Pompey and Crassus—the triumvirate. Olymp. clxxx. 1. B. C. 60.

At his return to Rome, he found much animosity subsisting between Pompey and Crassus, both of them his friends; and who, ten years before this period, when colleagues in the consulate, had acted as friends with each other, and heartily cooperated in destroying the arrangements of Sylla, and overturning the balance of the commonwealth. Cæsar's first undertaking was to reconcile these powerful individuals; the former in all the bloom of his eastern triumphs, the latter of great weight in the state by his immense opulence, his indefatigable industry, his bold and crafty ambition. A secret compact was entered into among all three, for affording mutual assistance, and jointly opposing every measure that might be displeasing to any one of the associates¹⁶. They all, in fact, stood in need of each other. Even Pompey, whose pre-eminence was most conspicuous, had not as yet obtained the confirmation of his late acts and arrangements: this had been attempted in vain by Afranius, his creature, the consul of the present year. But Cæsar, succeeding to Afranius in the consulate, procured this important object for Pompey, at the same time that, by the united power of the triumvirate, he acquired for himself the government of both Gauls, with the command of four legions, during the term of five years. In conferring this appointment, not less unconstitutional than that which Pompey had formerly held in the East, and far more dangerous, on account of the contiguity of Cisalpine Gaul to Italy, the servility of the

Pompey's acts confirmed, and Cæsar invested with command in both Gauls.

¹⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. p. 53. et seq.

seq. Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 44. et Plutarch. in Pomp. Cæsar. et Crass.

¹⁶ Conf. Dion, l. xxxvii. p. 54, et

senate outran even that of the people; Cato indignantly observing, that the senators had chosen to themselves a king, and placed him with guards in their citadel¹⁷.

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XXVIII.

Notwithstanding the opposition of a few honest men, affairs abroad, as well as at home, were entirely governed by the junto. This remarkably appears in the transactions with the Greek kingdoms, of which, after the reduction of Syria, into a province, there remained only Cyprus and Egypt. Of these two kingdoms, the former had long been an appendage to the latter. They were actually governed, however, by two different Ptolemies, both of them natural sons to Ptolemy Lathyrus¹⁸. The king of Cyprus had reigned in that island from the year of his father's death; his brother, surnamed Auletes "The Piper"¹⁹ mounted the throne of Egypt seventeen years afterwards, in consequence of the deprivation and expulsion of the tyrant Alexander II. We have seen this Alexander in the Roman camp in Syria²⁰, soliciting Pompey's assistance against his rebellious subjects: His request was rejected. Pompey's commission did not extend to Egypt; he was satiated with the conquest of kingdoms; and the gratitude of Alexander when restored, could not be more profitable than the terrors of Auletes, a prince in possession. The deprived king fixed his residence in Tyre, and died shortly afterwards in that city, constituting through hatred to his kindred and country, and notwithstanding his repulse by Pompey, the Roman people for his heirs²¹. In consequence of this testament, the triumvirs, in the consulate of Cæsar, received six thousand talents²² from Auletes, to secure him in the possession of a kingdom, in which, unchallenged by the Romans, he had already reigned six years.

Triumvirs
—their
transac-
tions with
the Greek
kingdoms
—I. Egypt.
Olymp.
clxxx. 2.
B. C. 59.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *ibid*.

²¹ Cicero. *cont. Rull. Orat.* ii.

¹⁸ Pausanias. *Attic. Trogu* in *Prolog.* xl.

²² Sueton. in *Jul. Cæsar.* c. 54.

¹⁹ He degraded himself by contending in that character in the public shows. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

The money, he says, was for Pompey and Cæsar. Crassus must have had his compensation in some other way.

²⁰ See above, c. xxvii.

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II. Cyprus.
The king
deposed,
and his
treasures
brought to
Rome.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3.
B. C. 58.

This disgraceful occurrence was the prelude to transactions still more unwarrantable with regard to Cyprus. The Romans, after they had relinquished all claim to Egypt, by declaring Ptolemy Auletes their ally, determined, in virtue of Alexander's testament, to possess themselves of Cyprus, which had never belonged to that prince. The ostensible agent in this business was the profligate Clodius, now tribune, whom we have before seen acting the part of a mutineer in Lucullus' army, and the principal instrument through which Pompey had supplanted that meritorious general. Clodius' resentment against Cyprus was stimulated, it seems, by an old grudge, for the Cyprian king had refused to ransom him from pirates, or rather furnished him for this purpose with so paltry a sum, that those tyrants of the seas, then in the zenith of their prosperity, disdained to accept of it, and preferred gratuitously to release him²³. Clodius had just banished Cicero, who by opposing, when too late, the views of the triumvirs, had provoked their animosity, and fatally experienced, in Pompey, the hollowness of political friendship²⁴. In the execution of the design on Cyprus, Clodius contrived to remove from Rome a senator still more obnoxious than Cicero to those in power. The austere virtue of Cato was employed by the senate and people in the ignominious office of depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom²⁵. To comply with the will of his country, how much soever at variance with his own, should seem to have been regarded by Cato as a matter of indispensable duty. He, accordingly, sailed towards Rhodes, and from that island exhorted Ptolemy by letter to descend from his throne, promising to leave him in quiet enjoyment of the rich hereditary priesthood of Paphos²⁶. Upon receiving this mandate, for thus any intimation from a Roman officer was considered, the king, who was master of vast hoards extorted by rapacity,

²³ Dio. & Appian.²⁴ Cicero ad Atticum, l. x. c. 4.²⁵ Cicero calls it a robbery, Cum in Ptolemæi regnum, bona, fortunas latrocinium hujus imperii immisis-

ses cujus cum patre, avo, majoribus, societas nobis et amicitia fuisset.

Orat. pro Domo sua, c. 8.

²⁶ Plutarch. in Caton. Uticens.

and treasured up with the most anxious parsimony, embarked with them on shipboard, and immediately set sail, with the desperate resolution of burying in the sea his riches with himself²⁷. But the sight, it is said, of his beloved gold, not any regard for a life so wretched as his, diverted him from this frantic purpose: he returned on shore, replaced his coffers in their former repositories, and then drank poison²⁸. Cato, arriving soon after at Cyprus, seized the spoils of this most contemptible prince, as he is represented by the Roman historians, and carried home into the public treasury the value of a million and a half sterling²⁹.

While at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, Cato had an extraordinary interview with Ptolemy Auletes. By cruel exactions from the Egyptians to bribe Pompey and Cæsar, this prince having provoked an insurrection, had been compelled to fly the kingdom³⁰. He communicated his unhappy circumstances to Cato, and told him that he was on his way into Italy, to solicit assistance from the senate. Cato, instead of tendering to him his good offices towards this design; very strongly dissuaded him from persevering in it; and with an indignant allusion to the commission with which he was himself invested, assured him that all the treasures of Egypt could not assuage the avidity of Rome. He therefore exhorted him to negotiate the best terms possible with his subjects, since the foreign aid in which he trusted was never likely to avail him³¹. The king, however, continued his voyage into Italy, took up his residence in Rome, and in the course of a twelvemonth, having exhausted his fortunes and his credit in order to obtain patronage, was still further than ever from success. At length a Sibylline oracle was produced, forbidding the restoration of any king of Egypt by a Roman army³². While that country, whoever bore in it a pageant royalty,

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Ptolemy
Auletes ex-
pelled by
his subjects
—long soli-
cited assist-
ance at
Rome.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3.
B. C. 58.

²⁷ Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 4. Caton.

²⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. p. 101.
et Strabo, l. xix. p. 684.

²⁹ Fiorus, l. iv. c. 3. Plutarch. in

³⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. civ.

³¹ Plutarch. in Caton. Uticens.

³² Dion. l. xxxix. p. 93.

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Restored
by arms to
his king-
dom.
Olymp.
elxxxi. 2.
B. C. 55.

continued a source of emolument to powerful individuals, it was in little danger of being invaded and conquered by the legions.

Upon the expulsion of Auletes, his daughter, Berenicè, had been raised by the Alexandrians to the vacant throne. With the advice of her council, Berenicè called into Egypt, to share her bed and government³³, the last survivor of the Seleucidæ, who was nearly allied, as we have seen, to the royal Ptolemæan line, by his mother Selenè, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon. The husband, thus chosen by the queen of Egypt, is known in history only by the name of Seleucus Cybiosactes, that is, Seleucus the higgler. With this appellation of contempt, he was quickly branded by the Alexandrians, by whom, among other vile and sordid acts, he was accused of purloining³⁴ a golden shrine, peculiarly revered by them, inclosing the remains of the great founder of their city. Resentment, mixed with disgust, precipitated the ruin of Cybiosactes; and Berenicè chose for the new partner of her throne Archelaus³⁵ the Cappadocian, whom Pompey, as before mentioned, had invested with the hereditary priesthood of Comana in Pontus. Archelaus was a man of spirit and abilities, and as such by no means a fit person to become, under the name of king, a mere collector of revenues for the rapacious triumvirs. Auletes, accordingly, made good his cause with Pompey and Crassus, now consuls, and was sent by the former with a recommendation to Gabinus, governor of Syria, formerly Pompey's lieutenant, and always his devoted partisan, that, with the aid of this proconsul, the exiled prince might be reinstated in his kingdom³⁶. In obedience to this command Gabinus despatched his master of horse Mark Antony to surprise Pelusium; and having gained that entrance into Egypt, marched thither in the heart of winter, when the Nile;

³³ Prophy. in Græc. Eusebian. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. The elder brother Antiochus Asiaticus, of whom we have above spoken, had died obscurely before this period.

Porphyr. ibid.

³⁴ Strabo ubi supra.

³⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

³⁶ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cv. & Phylarch. in Antonio.

being in its lowest state, opposed least difficulty to his arms. Archelaus perished at the head of his guards, fighting bravely before the walls of Alexandria. The kingdom returned to its allegiance, or rather submitted to the invaders; for after Berenicè had paid the forfeit of her short lived usurpation³⁷, Gabinius left with Auletes a large body of horse and foot, to protect his person, overawe his subjects, and especially to abet his merciless extortions (not less than 10,000 talents) due to his Roman creditors, or still more imperiously exacted by his Roman patrons³⁸. Auletes reigned four years after his restoration. The transactions in Egypt during that period will be recorded hereafter.

While the consuls Pompey and Crassus were all powerful at Rome, Cæsar, their associate in the triumvirate, was in the midst of his Gallic wars, which lasted eight campaigns, and are described by himself with such perspicuity and brevity as supersedes every attempt either to illustrate or abridge them. As protector of the Greek colony of Marseilles, the senate had occasionally interfered in the affairs of Transalpine Gaul, and above half a century before Cæsar's invasion, had planted Roman colonies in Aquæ Sextiæ³⁹, now Aix, and Narbo⁴⁰, or Narbonne. On either side of these cities, the conquests of Rome, intermixed with those of her Masi-
lian allies, extended between the gulph of Genoa and the bay of Biscay, over Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony. Commanding the whole seacoast, the Italian colonists, however, were confined on the north by the Cevennes and other mountains, whose inhabitants, men of fierce manners and predatory habits, were always ready to pour down and alarm the security of the province. The Romans frequently passed the mountains, chastised the hostility of some tribes, and contracted alliances with others, the peculiar circumstances of Gaul affording equal advantages to their arms and negotiations. For though

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Cæsar's
wars in
Gaul—
state of that
country.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3—
clxxxii. 3.
B. C. 58—
50.

³⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

in Anton.

³⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. Conf.
Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iiii. & Plutarch.

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. lxi. c. 3.

⁴⁰ Id. l. lxii. c. 7.

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the whole country was divided among the Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians, yet each of these nations was split into many cantons or communities, of which Cæsar enumerates about four hundred. Factions besides prevailed in each canton, governed by proud nobles and crafty priests, naturally jealous of each other, and both orders a prey to internal discord⁴¹. The warlike youths abetted their respective leaders in every unwarrantable pretension; soldiers alone, among whom there were many horsemen and archers, enjoyed the rights of citizens; the husbandmen and other working classes were treated as slaves; and every master of a family exercised an unlimited jurisdiction over his women and children. The three general divisions of Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians are said to have differed in many particulars from each other. These differences, however, are not explained; except that the Belgæ, as living nearer to the Germans, were fiercer in war, and ruder in the arts of peace than the Celts and Aquitanians, who derived some measure of improvement from commerce with the Greek and Roman colonies on the seacoast, but also imported from them the use of many luxuries that softened their minds and weakened their manhood⁴². From such circumstances the Gauls described by Cæsar should seem less enterprising or ferocious than those who, two centuries before, invaded the Macedonian empire; though the nation remained nearly the same in point of civil institutions and arts, and continued to make use of the same weapons and military tactics. From the account formerly given of them with regard to those latter particulars⁴³, it is evident, that however numerous (and they are said to have sometimes brought above 200,000 men into the field), they were totally unfit to contend in pitched battles with the Romans. From their practice in mining, for they had great iron works in their country⁴⁴, they sometimes ably counteracted the invaders in defending their

⁴¹ Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. xii. c. 6. & seq.

⁴² Id. l. i. c. 1.

⁴³ See above, vol. ii. p. 74, &c.

⁴⁴ Cæsar l. vii. c. 22.

cities. Their walls or mounds, consisting of well compacted frames of wood, filled inside with earth, and faced with alternate layers of stone, were well contrived both against the application of fire and the assault of battering engines⁴⁵. But none of those expedients availed them against Cæsar, who made war not merely with the sword and pilum, but with the rule and hatchet, the plummet and pickax, and whose indefatigable legions were as strenuous in execution as he was skilful and ready in invention. In the course of four campaigns, at the head of about 38,000 Romans, with due proportions of Gauls, whom from enemies he had converted into auxiliaries, he pervaded and reduced to submission the whole country; twice crossed the channel into Britain, on which he imposed a tribute; and twice passed the Rhine, on bridges of wood, to chastise the incursions of the Germans⁴⁶.

Of the eastern Germans we have before spoken: those towards the Rhine lived chiefly by hunting and pasturage, though they were not ignorant of tillage, nor disdained to cultivate inviting spots scattered at wide intervals over their rude country. They were men of lofty stature and fierce habits, imperfectly clothed with skins. They are said to have rejected wine and all other luxuries, as tending to enervate their courage, so that traders came among them rather to purchase their slaves and other booty, than to supply them with articles of elegance or conveniency, of which those haughty barbarians disdained the use⁴⁷. They subsisted in clans under headmen or chiefs, who often united in temporary associations for war, alike formidable for their numbers and their prowess to the nations whom they invaded. In point of weapons and tactics they agreed with the Gauls: their horses were smaller and more hardy; and disciplined, it is said, into such obedience, that when their riders dismounted to buckle more closely with the enemy, the horses patiently waited their return⁴⁸. In the country extending from the

⁴⁵ Ibid. c. 23.

& seq.

⁴⁶ Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i—iv.⁴⁸ Idem, l. iv. c. 2.⁴⁷ De Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 21.

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Rhine to the Elbe, the most powerful military association was that of the Suevi, with whose valour their feeble neighbours declared that even the immortal gods were unable to contend⁴⁹.

And Bri-
tain.

With regard to Britain, Cæsar was contented with marks of submission from a small part of the coast. He could obtain no information from the Gallic merchants concerning the interior of the country. He might have been more fortunate in his inquiries among the Druids, who repaired to Britain for the sake of instruction, and sent their children to be educated in an island, which they regarded as the cradle of their religion and learning⁵⁰. Cæsar's views of ambition made it necessary for him to prolong the war in Gaul, and plausible pretences were afforded him for this purpose by the insurrections which his extortions excited, and which he coldly ascribes to the fickle temper of the enemy⁵¹.

Provinces
assigned to
Pompey
and
Crassus.
Olymp.
elxxx. 2.
B. C. 55.

At the close of his first campaigns, he annually visited his province of Cisalpine Gaul, bounded by the Arnus and the Rubicon. At Luca, a few miles north of the former river, he generally met his associates in the triumvirate, and concerted with them such measures as were likeliest to maintain and confirm their common power. Though their ascendancy was visible both in Italy and the provinces, yet their designs were systematically opposed by the honest party in the senate, and their proceedings were daringly arraigned by their own refractory tribunes, instruments that often recoiled on the hand that used them. The profligate Clodius thus provoked the animosity of Pompey, who, to suppress the demagogue, used his authority to procure Cicero's recall from exile: and Cicero, from gratitude for this personal favour, declined not to abet Pompey in his pretensions to the office of purveyor general of corn; an appointment more weighty in effect, than dignified in sound, since from causes above explained, it placed under his management all the shipping and commerce of the empire. Two of the triumvirs had thus parti-

⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 7.

⁵⁰ Id. l. vi. c. 13.

⁵¹ De Bell. Gallic. *passim*.

cular departments, or what the Romans called provinces, allotted to them. Crassus remained contented with turning to the best account his share in the general patronage, until the consulship which he held with Pompey during Cæsar's fourth campaign in Gaul. It was then decreed by the senate and people, that the conduct of the war in that country should be continued in the same hands for the space of five years: and that the provinces of Spain and Syria, the two most considerable in the empire, should be distributed by lot between Pompey and Crassus⁵².

The latter obtained Syria with such unrestrained license in making war and raising armies, as gave him an authority little inferior to that formerly held by Pompey in the East. In that quarter Tigranes of Armenia, and Phraates III. of Parthia, were dead; princes with whose history my readers are acquainted. The former was peacefully succeeded by his son Artuades; but the throne of Phraates was disputed between his sons Mithridates and Orodes, the latter of whom was abetted and crowned by the Surena, an officer, in the Parthian government nearly corresponding with the Marshal in the old feudal monarchies of Europe. The person actually bearing that high dignity in Parthia was an able general, through whose exertions, Orodes suppressed and slew his elder brother Mithridates, and chastised the great city Seleucia Babylonia, which had espoused the cause of his competitor. Mithridates, during the dependency of his fortune, had applied to Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria; and that general had prepared to cross the Euphrates, when the mandate of Pompey sent him with an army into Egypt to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes⁵³. Crassus, appointed successor to Gabinius, was fully apprised of the events in the Eastern world. From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Cilicia to Egypt, the Syrians were peaceful subjects. Armenia was an humble ally. Parthia, which had

State of the
eastern
kingdoms.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 2.
B. C. 55.

⁵² Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. & Plutarch. in Pomp. & Crass. seph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. Dio. l. xxxix. and Plutarch. in Crasso.

⁵³ Conf. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. Jo-

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Crassus
takes the
command
in Syria.

dismembered the Macedonian provinces in Upper Asia, and which had renewed, as it were, in those parts the pomp and splendour of the Persian empire, seemed a prize of inestimable value, yet easy to be won, as still suffering from the troubles by which it had recently been distracted.

Fired with the most sanguine confidence, the triumvir quitted Italy with indecent haste, crossed the seas in tempestuous weather, and in his way into Syria gave every sign of impatience and eagerness. In passing through Galatia, he found Dejotarus, the old Gallic prince whose zeal in the cause of Rome had been so munificently rewarded by Pompey, busied in erecting a new city. Crassus said to him, you have begun the work of building, Dejotarus! at a late hour of the day; nor do you, Crassus, the Gaul rejoined, set out to invade the Parthians by times in the morning. He was then turned of sixty⁵³; but hastened to this lucrative warfare in the East, with all the enterprise of youth stimulated by the avidity of old age. Regardless, when he reached Syria, of the civil affairs of the province, his whole care was to collect men and money, and to ransack for the latter every repository even the most sacred. The temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had generously spared, was robbed of ten thousand talents⁵⁴.

Invasions the
dominions
of Parthia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 54.

With a great army of Romans and allies (for his numbers in this first expedition are not ascertained in history), he proceeded towards the Euphrates, and crossed at the ordinary passage which the Greeks called Zeugma; the disorders in the Parthian empire, and the suddenness of his invasion presenting to him a frontier very feebly guarded. He was opposed, however, by the satrap Talymenos⁵⁵, commanding a body of Parthians near Ichnia, in Mesopotamia, a stronghold fifteen miles distant from the Euphrates, and nearly twice that interval from the well known city, Charræ. The first

⁵³ Plutarch. in Crasso.

Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6.

⁵⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. de

⁵⁵ Dion. l. xl. p. 126.

resistless impression of Crassus put the enemy to rout; Tallymenos, severely wounded, made his escape four hundred miles southward to Ctesiphon, then the favourite palace, or rather the main encampment, of the Parthian kings. By his retreat, all the cities on both sides the Euphrates were left at the mercy of Crassus: Apamea, Nicephorium, and other places inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Macedonians, received the Romans as friends; for they abhorred the upstart dominion of the Parthians, and looked back with regret to the time when those now fierce usurpers had been despised subjects to the house of Seleucus. Crassus spent much precious time in the Greek cities, in which collectively, he left about 7,000 men; he also employed several days in weighing out the gold and treasures in Hieropolis, a seat of worship of the Syrian goddess, near the right bank of the Euphrates, and rivalling the splendour of Palmyra, as a rich inland emporium. His depredations in Hieropolis much offended Augarus, the Arab chief, whom Pompey, as we have seen, had established in that neighbourhood: the Arab, however, dissembled, for the present, his resentment, in order the more surely at a fit time to gratify it⁵⁶. If Crassus had availed himself of the first terror of his arms, he might have proceeded without opposition to Seleucia, and, together with that greatest and richest city of the East, have for ever annexed Mesopotamia to the Roman empire. But he had undertaken his expedition at an unusually late season; his haste to march had deprived him of many expected auxiliaries; and he was solicitous to deposit the treasures collected by him in safe custody.

Early in the spring, he was joined in Syria by his son of the same name, who had served four campaigns under Cæsar with distinguished glory. The son brought with other reinforcements to his father, a body of 1,000 Gallic cavalry, whose boldness and celerity were expected to prove peculiarly useful in an eastern expedition: he brought to him also letters from Cæsar, highly recommending to him perseve-

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His forces.

⁵⁶ Dion. l. xl. p. 129.

CHAP. XXVIII. rance in the Parthian war. By this time the Syrian army was in readiness to march, and Artuasdes of Armenia had promised to join it with the whole force of his kingdom. Crassus' European army consisted of seven legions; his levies raised in Asia must have been considerably more numerous, since the whole is computed at a hundred thousand men⁵⁷. He was, however, extremely deficient in cavalry, which little exceeded four thousand.

Measures taken by the Parthians—their embassy to Crassus. Olymp. clxxxi. 4. B. C. 53.

To resist the invasion, the Parthians adopted measures no less vigorous than prudent. King Orodes immediately invaded Armenia, to give to Artuasdes sufficient employment at home. The frontier of the Euphrates and the Romans were assigned to the superior abilities of the Surena, at the head of the best troops in the empire. Crassus, meanwhile, proceeded as formerly to Zeugma; and, in his way thither, was met by ambassadors from Parthia. They told him that the warfare, if authorized by the Romans, would not be permitted to end until that people had paid the forfeit of their folly: but that, should Crassus, as they understood, have levied war by his own authority, they pitied his old age, and would allow him to withdraw his miserable garrisons now imprisoned in Mesopotamia. Crassus said, "This haughty language will be answered in Seleucia Babylonia;" upon which the eldest among the ambassadors, Vogises, rejoined, striking the fingers of one hand against the palm of the other, "hair shall sooner grow here, than you shall enter Seleucia⁵⁸."

The Romans a prey to superstitious terrors.

The war indeed, as the Parthians insinuated, was so far from being agreeable to the Romans, that many sinister prodigies had been thrown in the way of Crassus to deter him from engaging in it. These childish superstitions had made a deep impression on his followers, and had prepared them for viewing as divine warnings very ordinary occurrences. It was said, that the standards, bearing the eagles, could scarcely be unfixed from the ground: the weather was stormy

⁵⁷ Plutarch. in Crass.

⁵⁸ Orosius, Florus, Plutarch, Dion.

when the legions crossed the Euphrates; and they had hardly reached its eastern bank, when a gust of wind demolished their hastily constructed bridge. Crassus, in his attempt to console them under this last misfortune, declared that the ruined bridge was altogether unworthy of regard, for he purposed to conduct them homeward by a more northern route, adding, with an asseveration, "that by the way which they had come, none of them should ever return." These inauspicious words greatly deepened the dismay. The general had not presence of mind to correct them. His orders were obeyed mechanically; for the men were too much a prey to their own imaginary terrors, to understand the intent of any thing enjoined them⁵⁹.

In relating the disasters which followed, historians, as if participating in the consternation which overwhelmed the Roman army, have treated so negligently the main points of time and distance, that it is not easy to extract from them any consistent narrative. Instead of keeping near the bank of the Euphrates, and thus proceeding through a fertile country to the rich kernel of Babylonia, and its capital, Seleucia, which ought to have been the great object of his labours, Crassus appears to have directed his march eastward, between the cities Charræ and Ichnæ or Ichnia, whose positions have been above assigned; preferring this route, on the advice of Augarus, in opposition to that of his best officers, particularly his quæstor Caius Cassius. Augarus, long in secret correspondence with the Parthians, declared that he had reconnoitred their army: That its force was altogether inadequate to a battle, nor had it been raised for this purpose, but merely to cause diversion and delay, until the Parthians should remove into the Scythian desert, with the treasures of Ecbatana, Hecatompylos, Bactra, and other eastern cities. When the Surena was destroyed, and the wealth of the East occupied, the Romans would then find leisure to receive the willing submission of Seleucia, and other Greek colonies.

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The Romans betrayed, and surprised on their march.

⁵⁹ Plutarch. in Crass.

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In prosecution of this design, Crassus is said to have led his army far from the Euphrates into a bare and barren plain, destitute of water, of trees, and of herbage, where, deprived of every accommodation, they were stifled with heat and dust, and subdued by the nature of their march, before they were buried under showers of Parthian arrows. But this catastrophe, which has been embellished by many tragic circumstances, is not reconcilable with other particulars communicated by the same authors, concerning the engagement. The Romans are said to have halted and refreshed themselves at the river Billicha, flowing on the west both of Charræ and Ichnia. Near this river, Crassus received messengers from Artuases, informing him of the invasion of Armenia, and of the obstacle thereby opposed to the intended junction of 16,000 Armenian cavalry with the Romans. Mortifying as this intelligence was, Crassus pursued his march into a country that was so far from being an unvaried plain, that the inequalities of the surface, shaded by many trees, afforded to the Parthians the opportunity for an ambush. The Roman scouts, and Augarus, who himself acted as a scout, declared that they could perceive no enemy in the neighbourhood, though they had discerned many tracts of departing cavalry. Crassus therefore hastened forward, his son preceding him at the head of the Gallic horse, and other troops best prepared for expedition⁶⁰.

Battle of
Charræ.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 53.

A body of Parthians, not considerable in number, at length made their appearance. Young Crassus advanced to engage them; they fled at his approach: he pursued with alacrity; and being carried to a distance from the legions, found himself encompassed by enemies; those whom he pursued having turned on his flanks, while others in front sprang on him from their concealments. His half naked Gauls at first wounded by Parthian arrows, were next more fatally assailed by the long spears of Parthian cuirassiers, covered

⁶⁰ Dion. l. xl. p. 129. et seq. et Plutarch in Crass.

with Margian mail, on which their own swords and lances made but a feeble impression. In the beginning of the action, two Greeks of Charraë, accompanying young Crassus, advised him to an attempt for escaping by their assistance to the neighbouring and friendly post of Ichnæ. But he resolved to die with his detachment; and his head being fixed on a lance, was displayed before the Roman legions. The father, though smit with the deepest anguish, declared the misfortune to be a private one, and exhorted the troops not to lose heart at the death of a single soldier. By this time he was beset on all sides by Parthians, who had started from their lurking places; while their kettledrums sounded to the trembling legionaries like the yells of wild beasts, mixed with rending thunder. Neither the arms nor the tactics of the Romans could in the least avail them. Their short massy swords could not reach the Parthian cataphracts; even their bucklers were transpierced by the Parthian archers. When they extended their ranks, they were a prey to the resistless onset of the former; when they contracted themselves within a narrower space, they afforded sure marks to the latter. Continually receiving wounds, which they were unable to retort, they at length closed their shields, and being formed into a compact square, stood the remainder of the day like a battered citadel. At the close of evening, the Parthians took their departure, for as their bows were useless in the dark, and they were careless in fortifying their camp, they never remained in the night-time within reach of an enemy. Such was the overthrow near Charraë, towards which city Crassus, to avoid a new attack next day, hastened with all able to follow him, abandoning the badly wounded to the merciless vengeance of the victors⁶¹.

As the Parthians were little acquainted with the art of conducting sieges, Charraë might have long bid them defiance, had it been supplied with magazines adequate to the support

Disastrous
retreat of
the Ro-
mans.

⁶¹ Dion & Plutarch. ubi supra.

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Death of
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 4.
B. C. 53.

of a numerous army. But as such stores were wanting, and the enemy was master of all the surrounding country, Crassus determined to escape in the night; and the better to effect this purpose, delayed his melancholy march till the wane of the moon. The disasters suffered by his army had destroyed subordination. Several considerable parties had taken their flight towards Syria, particularly five hundred horsemen, headed by Cassius, who, being advised to wait a few days till the moon should have passed Scorpion, said, that of all signs in the zodiac he feared only Sagittarius⁶². Crassus soon afterwards moved in a dark night from Charra towards the protecting branches of mount Masius, which separate Mesopotamia from Armenia. Could he reach this country, he entertained the hope of meeting with protection from his ally Artuases, though many of his officers were inclined rather to fear that, if they escaped the Surena, it would only be to fall into the equally cruel hands of his master Orodes, then ravaging Armenia. The former of these dread commanders was seen advancing in full speed upon the rearguard of the Romans, at the same time that their van began to ascend the mountains. The Surena, who wished not to urge the pursuit in such unfavourable ground, summoned by his heralds Crassus to a conference; and himself mounting an eminence, unbent his bow in token of friendship. Crassus, though suspicious of treachery, was overruled by his men and officers: he descended therefore with the tribunes Octavius and Petronius, and a few other Romans, the Surena meeting him as had been agreed on, with an equal number of Parthians. They had no sooner come in presence of each other, than the Surena congratulated Crassus on gaining Orodes, the king of kings, for his friend. My master, he said, has sent you a present; and at the same time ordered to be brought to him a horse magnificently caparisoned. A groom then seizing Crassus threw him on horseback, while another began to scare the horse with shouts and lashes. Octavius, however, seized

⁶² Plutarch, p. 562.

the reins, and having stabbed one of the Barbarians, was himself stabbed in the back by the other. In the bloody tumult that followed, Crassus was slain, and most of the Romans who had accompanied him; for the Parthians being apprised of the scene ready to be transacted, were prepared to spring forward to abet the base treachery of their general. After the death of Crassus, the greater part of the army surrendered; a feeble remnant still pursued its flight; of a hundred thousand men, legionaries or allies, that had entered Mesopotamia, it was computed that not one tenth-part returned into Syria⁶³.

Crassus, who thus perished a mockery to the Parthians, was one of three men who had for seven years domineered over the Romans, the proud tyrants of nations. His head was sent to Orodes in Armenia, who had by this time entered into a composition with Artuasdes, and who, at the time he received the ghastly present, was actually solemnizing the nuptials of his son Pacorus with the sister of the Armenian king. At the end of the entertainment these barbarous kings, as they are commonly deemed, were amused with hearing the recital of Greek verses. The *Mænades* of Euripides was the subject; this piece was in rehearsal under the direction of Jason of Tralles, a celebrated tragedian, who, upon the introduction of the Surena's messengers, with their disgusting trophy, immediately assumed the mask of Agavè, and recited the words of that frantic princess, when she displayed the bloody head of her son Pentheus⁶⁴.

Meanwhile, the destruction of the Roman army in Mesopotamia had laid all the Greek cities in that vast region at the mercy of the Parthians. In Seleucia, the principal of these cities, the Surena entertained the people with an exhibition that burlesqued the Roman triumphs; captives marching in chains, lictors bearing the fasces, empty purses suspended from poles, with crowds of Seleucian courtesans reviling, in licentious songs, the avarice and cowardice of the Romans.

⁶³ Dion Cassius, et Plutarch. *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Plutarch. *ibid.*

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To render these enemies as contemptible as they were odious, he showed to the senators of Seleucia, (for that place, though tributary to the Parthians, still maintained internally the form of a Greek colony,) the obscene Milesian tales of Aristides⁶⁵, which had been discovered among the baggage of a Roman officer. The senators loudly condemned this instance of profligacy, but whispered among themselves that Æsop had wisely represented all men with two pouches; one before their eyes, containing the faults of others, and one tied behind their backs, filled with their own; for the Surena, it seems, who discerned the infamy of reading Milesian tales, was himself attended, even in his military expeditions, by wagons loaded with harlots⁶⁶. The senators also remarked to each other, that most of the Arsacidæ, even the most illustrious, were born of Milesian⁶⁷ and Ionian courtesans.

Views of
Pompey
and Cæsar
—the former sole
consul.
Olymp.
clxxxii. 1.
B. C. 52.

The power of Crassus had long formed a balance between that of Cæsar and Pompey. His destruction, therefore, with the ruin of his vast army, left a free scope to these chiefs, first in their views of trampling on the republic, and afterwards in their designs of supplanting each other. Cæsar was then engaged in his sixth campaign in Gaul, amassing treasures, and exercising armies in the suppression of rebellions excited by his boundless rapacity. Pompey was invested with command in both Spains, which he exercised by his lieutenants: he was also purveyor general of the empire, in which capacity he occasionally made voyages to the corn countries of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa; but his attention was chiefly directed to the affairs of the capital, the election of magistrates in Italy, and the appointment of governors or generals in the provinces. The year following Crassus' defeat, he was chosen sole consul, and exercised consular power without a colleague from the first of March to the

⁶⁵ The age of this Aristides is uncertain.

⁶⁶ This perhaps was ob nobilitatem, as Tacitus says of the German

chiefs. De Mor. Germanor. c. 18.

⁶⁷ Miletus is in Caria, a district separated by the Mæander from Ionia.

beginning of August, when he was pleased to associate with him in office his father-in-law Metellus Scipio⁶⁸. CHAP.
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His consulate was distinguished by three decrees, important in their consequences: the first continued to Pompey his command in Spain for the space of five years, with an ample allowance of money for paying his legions: the second granted to Cæsar the privilege of standing candidate for the highest office at Rome, without personally appearing in that city, and thereby quitting the command of his army in Gaul: the third forbade all future consuls or pretors to be employed as governors of provinces till five years after the expiration of their magistracies⁶⁹. Three important decrees moved by him.

Amidst the personal interests which engrossed the heads of the republic, (for their usurpations met with continual opposition from the sounder part of the senate), no vigorous measures were taken for repelling the dangers that threatened on the side of Parthia. That haughty power prepared to follow up the dreadful blow which it had inflicted, by expelling the Romans from Asia. Shortly after Crassus' defeat, Syria became a prey to incursions, and must have been totally lost but for the zeal and spirit of Caius Cassius, quæstor to the late unfortunate governor. In virtue of this office, Cassius assembled the feeble remnant of Romans and allies that had escaped the disaster at Charræ; and the Parthians, who expected to find Syria at their mercy, thought fit to repass the Euphrates, purposing to return next year in more formidable numbers⁷⁰. But before their second expedition, the Surena, whose glory offended the pride of a jealous master, had fallen a victim to royal ingratitude⁷¹. Orodes placed, at the head of the invading army, his own son Pacorus, whose youth was assisted by the advice of Osaces, a general renowned in eastern warfare, but not destined to reap laurels in the west. By this time the Romans had sent as governor into Syria Calphurnius Bibulus, Cassius defends Syria against the Parthians.

⁶⁸ Dion Cassius, Appian, Velleius, l. ii. c. 47.

⁶⁹ Plutarch. in Pomp

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cviii. Velleius, l. ii. c. 46.

⁷¹ Plutarch. in Crass.

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Cicero pro-
consul in
Cilicia.
Olymp.
elxxxii. 2.
B. C. 51.

who had been consul with Cæsar eight years before. Cicero was also appointed to command in Cilicia, at the distance of a dozen years after his consulship, rendered for ever illustrious by the defeat of Cataline's conspiracy. These appointments happened in consequence of Pompey's law just mentioned; for as the ordinary magistrates were not allowed to hold provinces till five years after the expiration of their offices, it was thought fit that all those should cast lots for vacant provinces who had been consuls at home, but who had not hitherto been employed as proconsuls abroad. The honour, which chance conferred upon him, was extremely disagreeable to Cicero⁷²: his talents, he well knew, were better fitted for the senate or the assembly, than for the command of armies; he, however, put himself at the head of above 15,000 men in Cilicia, and circumstances enabled him, even in his military capacity, to perform signal service to his country.

The Par-
thians de-
feated and
expelled
from Syria.
Olymp.
elxxxii. 2.
B. C. 51.

Cilicia is contiguous both to Syria and to Cappadocia, but far more accessible on the side of the latter. Cicero, who had made sure of the assistance of the kings Ariobarzanes and Dejotarus, took post therefore on the Cappadocian frontier; but, upon learning that the enemy had in great numbers entered Syria, he made haste to cross mount Amanus into that province, where the Parthians had ravaged the open country, and shut up Bibulus in Antioch. Cicero's well judged movement determined them to raise the siege⁷³. In their retreat they fell into an ambush that had been laid for them by Cassius: Osaces, with great part of his army, was slain; and Pacorus, his royal pupil, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the victors. From this period the Roman subjects in Syria and Cilicia lived unmolested for a dozen years, by incursions or even by alarms on the side of the Euphrates; so that an easy task remained for Cicero, to chastise the predatory

⁷² Epist. ad Attic. l. v. c. 10.

⁷³ Id. ibid. c. 20.

mountaineers of Amanus, who being natural and government, had revolted from the Romans and cooperated with the eastern invaders⁷⁴.

In the same year that brought to a conclusion this Parthian war, died Ptolemy XI. Auletes, father to the too celebrated Cleopatra III. the last Greek sovereign of Egypt. During the period of four years that had elapsed since his restoration by Gabinus and Mark Antony, the ascendancy of the Roman cohorts left to guard his person and throne was disturbed by only one transaction deemed worthy of record. The first Ptolemies spared no pains, as we have seen, to recommend to their Egyptian subjects the airy and elegant solemnities of Greece⁷⁵, and to wean them from disgraceful and dire rites, especially the abomination of brute worship. But amidst the growing degeneracy of the Greeks in Egypt, the natives of that country adhered more firmly to the strangest and the vilest of their ancient superstitions, which, being riveted in their hearts, they were prepared to defend at the risk of their lives. Of this atrocious obstinacy an illfated Roman was the victim. In practising with some missile weapon, he shot accidentally a cat: the Egyptians were thrown into tumult by the murder of a god; neither the magistrates, nor the king himself, nor the interposed swords of Roman legionaries, could restrain the fury of their rage. They pursued the wicked delinquent to his house, and having dragged him from thence to the public place, inflicted on him their fiercest vengeance⁷⁶; thus superstitiously exerting, in the cause of this vile animal, a degree of manhood to which, in their own defence, no principle of reason or sentiment had, for many ages, been able to rouse them.

Auletes, during his whole reign, had been a vassal and tributary to Rome, or rather to the chiefs of that republic. The gratuities with which he courted one description of

⁷⁴ Epist. Familiar. l. xv. c. 4.

⁷⁵ Among others, the procession of the *καμπόγης*, as mentioned by the Scholiast on Callimachus, Hymn

first, and confirmed by the decree for Ptolemy Epiphanes' deification. (See above) *καμπόγη Ἀγίας*, &c. line 5.

⁷⁶ Diodorus Siculus, l. i. s. 83.

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he often borrowed from the usurious avarice of another way Rabirius, a Roman knight, had become his creditor to so prodigious an amount, that it was deemed expedient to appoint him collector of the king's revenues. Rabirius, however, continued but a short time in an office equally dangerous and invidious; and was happy to escape into Italy, robbed of great part of his fortunes⁷⁷.

His testament.

Shortly before his demise, Auletes settled the succession to his kingdom in a manner corresponding to the dependent condition in which it had long subsisted. By his testament, Egypt was left under the guardianship of Rome; and while the original of this instrument was retained in Alexandria, a copy of it, duly authenticated, was transmitted by ambassadors to Pompey, that it might by him be deposited in the Roman treasury⁷⁸. According to this instrument, as the king left two sons and two daughters, the elder of the sons (placed under the immediate tutelage of Pompey) was to marry the elder daughter, and to hold with her an associate sovereignty. The daughter Cleopatra was in her seventeenth year: her brother and husband was enthroned the year after his accession, when he attained the age of fourteen, under the title of Ptolemy XII. Dionysus.

Egyptian army—its disorders.

In this conjunct reign, the first event of importance proceeded from the license of the soldiery, consisting of the Romans above mentioned, intermixed with Asiatic Greeks, chiefly Syrians and Cilicians, many of them fugitive slaves, outlaws, and robbers; for, from the cowardice of the native Egyptians, or their aversion to a military life, all strangers of a martial description had been long welcome among them, and found ready employment in their army. These men, by close association with each other, were gradually moulded into one uniform character⁷⁹. They protected against the demands of justice, all by whom they were joined, and whom

⁷⁷ Cicero Orat. pro Rabin.

⁷⁸ Cæsar, *ibid*.

⁷⁹ Cæsar, de Bell. Civil. l. iii

profligacy and audacity made worthy of becoming their companions. Their numbers exceeded 20,000; and no power in the kingdom, not even the irritable Alexandrians, venturing to oppose them, they plundered the wealthy citizens, set law and government at defiance, beset the gates of the palace, and called for the heads of ministers. Two thousand of them were cavalry, distinguished by superior appointments, and if possible by a fuller indulgence in all kinds of disorder. The sons of Bibulus, Roman proconsul in Syria, two youths of great promise, during a visit which they made to Egypt, incurred, we know not for what reason, the resentment of these Egyptian horsemen, and were cruelly murdered by them. The whole of the corps should seem to have participated in the guilt; but the perpetrators of it were few, and Cleopatra, or her ministers, had the spirit to seize their persons, and to send them in fetters to Bibulus. The behaviour of the proconsul and father is cited as a rare example of moderation. He remanded the murderers to Cleopatra, saying, that to require atonement for their crime belonged not to himself, but to the senate⁸⁰.

CHAP.
XXVIII.Murder of
the sons of
Bibulus.

Shortly afterwards we find Cleopatra, probably for the part which she had acted in this business, precipitated from her throne, and driven in exile from her kingdom. The ministers of her juvenile husband were Pothinus, an eunuch, who had long had the care of his person, and Theodotus, a rhetorician, who had been employed as his preceptor. Through their perfidious selfishness cooperating with the resentment of the soldiery, Cleopatra was compelled to fly with her adherents and treasures into Syria; and Ptolemy Dionysus reigned for a few months without a partner. The queen returned, strongly reinforced, towards Pelusium. The king posted himself on that frontier to repel invasion. The hostile armies were encamped near to each other; that of the king commanding the city and harbour of Pelusium.

Cleopatra
expelled
the king-
dom, and
her return
opposed by
Ptolemy.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 2.
B. C. 51.⁸⁰ Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 1.

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Roman
civil wars.
Olymp.
elxxxii. 3.
B. C. 50.

But this domestic quarrel was not left to be decided by the exertions of the parties engaged in it; for Cleopatra's whole subsequent history is involved in that of the contemporary period of Roman civil war⁸¹. Cæsar had finished his cruel conquest of Transalpine Gaul by cutting off the right hands⁸² of those who manfully defended Uxellodunum, a city of Guienne. He was at the head of twelve legions, for many of which he had found employment during eight campaigns, by provoking new enemies as soon as the old were subdued; and all of which his bravery and his indulgence had attached to his person. He commanded the resources of two great provinces, the nearer of which (Cisalpine Gaul) hung like a stormy cloud over Rome, the seat of elegance and power, frequented by all persons most distinguished in the empire. Such means of mischief, and such incentives to usurpation were in the hands of a man, who, from his first appearance in public life, had lost no opportunity to foment disorder and weaken government. His views were not only suspected, but denounced; and the sounder part of the senate, with all those among the people, who yet retained any veneration for the ancient constitution, trembled at the thoughts of being laid prostrate, with their families and future hopes, at the feet of a military despot. Of all men concerned in this catastrophe, Pompey, long Cæsar's coadjutor, seemed the least to apprehend it. As Cæsar commanded both Gauls, Pompey was master of the two Spains, in which he had great armies at his disposal. By another extraordinary appointment, he

⁸¹ My narrative is thus brought back, through many dark and intricate stages, to the same sort of transactions and the same scenes, from which it commenced; the memorable conflicts in the East among Alexander's captains. The issues of the Grecian and Roman warfares differed, indeed, widely; since, by the former the well harmonized empire of Alexander was divided; and by the latter, the dominions of Rome were reduced under one master.

From the circumstances under which they happened, both revolutions were bad in themselves, and both were attended with still worse consequences. The extinction of the Greek kingdoms was succeeded by four slothful and tasteless centuries of imperial despotism; and the dissolution of Roman power was followed by a thousand years of dark barbarism and bloody anarchy.

⁸² De Bell. Gallic. l. viii. c. 44.

controlled all the shipping and commerce of the empire. CHAP.
XXVIII.
His name was respected or terrible in the rich countries beyond the Hadriatic, where he had subdued kingdoms, and established proconsuls, and where the allies or vassals of Rome had long looked up to Pompey, and principally depended on his patronage. He had recently been sole consul, which made him a sort of king in Italy, in many parts of which his veterans had been rewarded with lands through the credit of their general. Upon his recovery from a short indisposition, public rejoicings were celebrated through the whole of that country, as for the safety of a great and beloved monarch. So much real power, swelled by such boundless popularity, made this credulous child of fortune form a false estimate of himself and his competitor. When told of Cæsar's great military force, and its nearness to Italy, he said he had only to stamp his foot, and armies would spring up from the ground. By the death of his wife Julia, Cæsar's daughter, he had not to endure any painful struggle in his resolution of taking arms against the father of that most affectionate woman; and when Cæsar disobeyed the senate, and refused to disband his legions, Pompey acknowledged the absolute necessity of the war, and entertained not the smallest doubt of his ability to bring it to a happy issue. He expected, however, that his rival would temporize, and long ponder his arduous undertaking before he passed the Rubicon. But the audacity and celerity of Cæsar disconcerted all his measures. Having passed the Rubicon in December, Cæsar was master of Rome and Italy, and had compelled Pompey, with all his adherents, to fly from Brundisium, before the end of the following January. He then hastened into Spain, and in a war which he has described with equal perspicuity and dignity⁸³, converted the hostile legions in that country into friendly auxiliaries. On his way thither, the siege of Marseilles threatened unseasonably to detain him; for the Massilians, aristocratic in their domestic policy, warmly espoused the cause of Pom-

⁸³ De Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 37. et seq.

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pey and the senate. But having committed that siege in the spring, to the zeal of Decimus Brutus, he marched as above-said into Spain, and completed its conquest in the summer. In his return towards Italy in the autumn, he received the submission of Marseilles; he entered Rome in September; and on the 15th of October, set sail for Epirus, that, being paramount in the West⁸⁴, he might gain an equal ascendancy in the eastern division of the empire.

Battle of
Pharsalia.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 1.
B. C. 48.

His warfare in that quarter, which he has himself also admirably described⁸⁵, is the most illustrious example in history, of a successful invasion against an enemy not only stronger by land, but absolutely master at sea. Pompey's admirals, Bibulus, Scipio, and his elder son Cneius, commanded fleets collectively amounting to 800 sail. Yet Cæsar found means to transport an army across the Hadriatic, and having in the course of a long campaign signalized his skill and prowess, completely outgeneraled Pompey in the battle of Pharsalia. His heavy infantry amounted to 22,000; Pompey's to 45,000. In cavalry and light troops he was still more decidedly inferior. Pompey had the river Enipeus on his right. He therefore flanked his left with the whole of his horse and archers, expecting that these forces, after repelling the inferior cavalry of Cæsar, would turn his right wing, and gain a complete victory. But that able antagonist, having drawn eight choice cohorts from the line, posted them in the rear of his own horse. This body of cavalry, as had been foreseen, was dispersed; but those who had defeated it were suddenly opposed in front by a new and unexpected enemy. The late victorious cavalry were thus put to the rout; and their precipitate flight left a prey to

⁸⁴ Pompey's flight from Rome rendered Cæsar eventually the master of Italy, and his flight from Italy enabled Cæsar to send detachments to Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, while he marched in person into Spain. Success every where attended his arms, except in the province of Africa, where his lieutenant

Curio was cut off with his whole army, by Juba king of Numidia, the personal enemy of Curio, who, in his capacity of tribune of the people, had recently moved a decree for depriving that Numidian prince of his kingdom. *De Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 37—44.*

⁸⁵ *De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 1—100.*

the legionary sword the archers and slingers that had been intermixed with them. Cæsar's select cohorts then turned on Pompey's left, and the havoc made by them in this quarter speedily decided the engagement. With the loss of 200 men and 30 officers, Cæsar says that he destroyed 15,000 of the enemy, and made 24,000 prisoners ⁸⁶.

Pompey, after the battle, escaped to the seacoast, embarked for Mitylenè in Lesbos, where he took on board his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus, collected 2,000 men in Cyprus and Cilicia, and steered his course towards Egypt, that, until a more favourable turn of his affairs, he might find protection with young Ptolemy, his pupil. Upon the coast of Syria he learned, that the citizens of Antioch had come to a resolution not to receive him; he purposed therefore to proceed directly to Alexandria, when in his design of passing by Pelusium, he beheld many war galleys near the harbour, great numbers of men stationed on the shore, and all such marks of military preparation, as left in him little doubt that the king, to whom he came, was there present in person. He accordingly cast anchor, and sent a few of his officers to intimate his situation and his wishes. The king's counsellors were divided in opinion; if protection should be given to Pompey, they might provoke the resentment of Cæsar; if Pompey, after being rejected by them, should ever reestablish his affairs, they must expect his utmost vengeance: the wisest course, with so formidable a fugitive, which is said to have been suggested by Theodotus above mentioned, appeared to be his immediate murder. The execution of this design was committed to Achilles, military commander in the district, and Septimius, a Roman tribune, now in the service of Egypt, and who had formerly followed Pompey in his war against the pirates. These men put from shore in a small boat, and rowed to Pompey's galley, on pretence of conducting him

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Pompey's
flight to-
wards
Egypt—
murdered
at Pelusi-
um.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 1
B. C. 48.

⁸⁶ De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 86. et seq.

ing's presence. The meanness of the equipage, and of ceremony in the address, created suspicion in friends, who, with his wife Cornelia and son Sextus, dissuaded him from leaving them. But having gone recede, he repeated two lines of Euripides,

"Who ventures, thoughtless, on a tyrant's shore,
A Slave becomes, how free soe'er before."

Two of his servants descended into the boat to assist him as he removed into it: not a word was uttered, until Pompey looking stedfastly at Septimius, asked whether they had not formerly been acquainted. The tribune only assented by a nod; upon which Achilles stabbed Pompey, and the work of death was instantly completed by his ruffian attendants. The king, at the head of his troops, was drawn up on the coast; Cornelia and Sextus stood on the deck of their vessel in trembling perplexity. The catastrophe could be seen from both sides; and the shrieks of the spectators at sea were distinctly heard by those on shore. As if a signal had been given, all the Roman vessels cut their cables and fled⁸⁷.

Thus perished the "Great Pompey," who had borne a longer sway in Rome than any citizen before him. His ambition, however, exceeded his abilities, and his fortune was loftier than his spirit. Great in war, he was ruined through an overweening confidence; able in politics, he was disgraced by a perpetual and useless dissimulation. He had determined, at any price, to maintain the preeminence to which a combination of favourable circumstances had raised him: He was solicitous, however, that his honours should be conferred, not usurped; whereas his now fortunate rival looked only to power, altogether regardless of the means by which he attained it.

Cæsar in
pursuit of
him arrives

After the battle of Pharsalia, as it had been the only care of Pompey to provide for his escape, so the sole object of Cæsar

⁸⁷ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxii. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. & Plutarch in Pompeio

was to pursue and overtake him. He arrived at A only three days after Pompey had been slain at and a very short time after the news of that reached the former city. The forces, which Ca ported with him thither, amounted to no more legionary soldiers, and a body of 800 horse, under the con- voy of ten stout Rhodian galleys and a few ships of war from the coasts of Lesser Asia. Twenty two Egyptian vessels guarded the harbour; fifty well equipped galleys had been sent to the Ionian sea, to reinforce Pompey's fleet, and were now upon their return, after learning his defeat in Thessaly. There was also a considerable number of troops in Alex- andria by way of garrison. Under these circumstances Cæsar thought fit to remain at anchor, until Theodotus, the prime mover in Pompey's murder, brought to him the head of this vanquished rival, at sight of which being seized, it is said, with a momentary compunction, he shed tears. He received, however, with complacence, Pompey's ring, impressed with an armed lion, and long respected as the signet by which his acts were attested over all parts of the empire⁸⁸. Upon com- ing on shore, Cæsar was attended in quality of consul with lictors bearing the fasces. This display of authority, by which the majesty of young Ptolemy seemed to be violated, offended the Egyptian soldiers in garrison, and still more the tumul- tuary populace of Alexandria. Cæsar condescended to re- monstrate with and to soothe them; but to frustrate any effects of their returning resentment, fixed his abode in the strongest part of the palace adjacent to the sea shore, and defended on the land side by the theatre, which served him by way of citadel. During the following days, many of his soldiers met with insults in the streets, and a few of them were slain. Notwithstanding these unpromising symptoms, before any reinforcements arrived to him, he proceeded to exercise the jurisdiction to which he thought himself entitled as representing the Roman commonwealth. Accordingly, he

Requires Ptolemy and Cleo- patra to submit their dif- ferences to his arbitra- tion.

⁸⁸ Plutarch, in Pomp. Conf. Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 189.

mandate that the kings, meaning thereby Cleopatra her, should suspend their mutual hostilities, and to the injunction in their father's testament, differences, which had armed them against each arbitration of the Roman consul. Agreeably to this command, both young Ptolemy and his sister sent agents to that division of the palace which Cæsar had occupied. The king still remained at the head of his troops near Pelusium; the queen had not yet ventured to set foot in Egypt⁸⁹.

Character
of Cleopatra.

Only a few months before this period, and immediately previous to the rupture with her brother, Cleopatra had received a visit from Cæsius, Pompey's elder son, to whom, besides committing to him an Egyptian squadron for his father's service, she is said to have surrendered her person⁹⁰. Seven years before, her opening charms had inflamed the profligate Mark Antony, when he served in Egypt under Gabinus⁹¹. Cleopatra was now in her twentieth year, brilliant in person, and surrounded with all those graces that render beauty resistless. Her voice sounded like the sweetest music. She spoke many languages with propriety and delicacy. She could assume all characters at will, which all alike became her; and being conscious of the full extent of her powers, employed them uniformly in the whole following course of her reign of eighteen years, in the service of an ambition as unprincipled as it was boundless.

Her clandestine
visit to
Cæsar.

The amorous character of Cæsar was a matter of public notoriety; and she doubted not, that by obtaining an interview, she should for ever fix him in her interest. To elude the vigilance of Ptolemy, and especially of his minister Pothinus, the chief instrument in her expulsion, she trusted herself to a small skiff, and having reached the harbour of Alexandria, was, without the assistance of any other confidant than Apollodorus, a Greek of Sicily, carried by him as a package of goods into Cæsar's apartment. That conqueror delighted

⁸⁹ Dion Cassius. l. xlii. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. Plutarch. in Cæsar.

⁹⁰ Plutarch. in Pompeio.

⁹¹ See above.

in the wiles of love not less than those of war. Her device highly pleased him; he was subdued, or rather enslaved, by her person and conversation. She slept with him that night, and became pregnant of a son, called Cæsarion from his father⁹². CHAP. XXVIII.

The following morning a summons was sent to her brother to attend the consular tribunal. Ptolemy obeyed; but finding Cleopatra already in the palace, he rushed out of doors, and tearing the diadem from his head, proclaimed to the Alexandrians the conspiracy formed against him. To appease the rising tumult, Cæsar ventured to meet the citizens and soldiers in one of those assemblies, which from the popular institutions of the kingdom of Macedon above explained, were familiar to all the capitals belonging to that empire. The testament of Ptolemy Auletes was recited: Cæsar gave assurances that his only design was to procure an exact compliance with it: but in order to gain the whole assembly, whether partisans of Ptolemy or Cleopatra, he added, that in conformity to their father's will, not only Ptolemy Dionysus and Cleopatra should reign in Egypt, but that the two younger children of the late king, Ptolemy junior (for he never obtained any higher title) and Arsinoë, should be married according to the Egyptian laws, and hold an associate sovereignty in Cyprus⁹³. Nothing he knew could be more pleasing than this arrangement to the Alexandrians, who had testified the utmost displeasure at the recent usurpation of Cyprus by the Romans. He endeavours to soothe the Alexandrians.

The war of Alexandria, as it is called, might have thus been prevented, could Pothinus, who guided the counsels of Ptolemy Dionysus, have reposed any confidence in the promised forgiveness of Cleopatra. But, as he well knew the relentless mind of that princess towards all who stood in the way of her ambition, he saw no other means of safety, either for himself or his master, than the excitement of ill stifled animosities. By a number of low artifices, worthy of a long War of Alexandria excited by Pothinus. Olymp. clxxxiii. 1—2. B. C. 48—47.

⁹² Dion Cassius & Plutarch. in Cæsare.

⁹³ Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 201. et Plutarch. in Cæsare.

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servile courtier and an eunuch, he contrived to agitate the minds of the Alexandrians, while he secretly moved to bolder designs Achilles, the murderer of Pompey, and a man of the utmost audacity, for whom, as the fittest person for his purpose, he had procured the command of the army recently assembled at Pelusium. Achilles was exhorted to march with all speed to Alexandria, that, by a sudden assault, he might crush the handful of Romans within its walls. The movements of the Egyptian army did not escape Cæsar's vigilance. At his desire Ptolemy sent, to penetrate Achilles' intentions, Dioscorides and Serapion, two persons of note, who, in the time of Ptolemy Auletes, had both of them headed embassies to Rome. Achilles had no sooner beheld them than, without listening to a word of apology, he ordered them to be seized and murdered. Upon learning this proceeding, Cæsar was more careful than ever to retain the young king in his power⁹⁴, that any act of hostility on the part of Achilles might be construed into rebellion,

His accomplice Achilles attacks Cæsar's quarters.

Meanwhile that general entered Alexandria. He commanded 20,000 mercenaries above mentioned, as the principal military force of the kingdom; and through the intrigues of Pothinus, his secret confederate, was assured of the co-operation of the fleet. Having occupied the contiguous parts of the city, he advanced towards Cæsar's quarters, but found all the avenues to them so skilfully fortified, and so manfully defended, that, with all his vast superiority of numbers, he was unable in any part to make an impression. While this warfare deformed the beautiful streets and noble edifices of Alexandria, one fiercer and more important raged in the harbour⁹⁵. Fifty galleys sent, as above mentioned, to the Ionian sea, had by this time returned into port. They were completely equipped: and, as they had recently sailed to co-operate with the unfortunate Pompey, were, the more easily

Seafight in the harbour, and burning of the library in Bruchion.

⁹⁴ Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

see vol. i. p. 495, and vol. ii. 157.

⁹⁵ For the localities referred to,

encouraged to oppose his victorious rival, now likely to be overwhelmed in his turn by Achillas and his army. This CHAP.
XXVIII. squadron of fifty galleys, with the twenty-two guardships in the harbour, attacked the Roman fleet. The combat would have been altogether unequal, but for the persevering valour and matchless skill of the Rhodians. Through their exertions Cæsar obtained a complete victory, and commanded the whole of the hostile ships to be burned, because he had not a man to spare by whom any of them could be occupied. The fierceness of the conflagration destroyed the arsenal, from thence communicated itself to the contiguous buildings, particularly the corn magazine, and having finally seized the library in Bruchion, consumed that noble edifice, containing 400,000 volumes⁹⁶. In the midst of this ruinous scene, Cæsar availed himself of the confusion occasioned by it, to seize with little difficulty the lighthouse on the isle of Pharos, and to secure it by a garrison⁹⁷.

The disaster which happened to the noblest quarter of their city, afflicted the Alexandrians, without suspending Operations
within the
city. their exertions. Besides the harbour in which their ships had been burned, there was another west of the isle of Pharos, in the recesses of which were many galleys that had been laid up by the precaution of former kings and ministers, and which might easily be refitted. Many others might be collected from the various mouths of the Nile. The country abounded with sailors, sufficient to man fleets the most numerous; and materials were at hand to equip them, in a city that had long commanded the commerce of the world. While the utmost diligence was used for rendering these maritime resources available, a stubborn war raged within the walls of the city. The Romans endeavoured to extend their quarters by levelling the contiguous buildings, which, from the small quantity of timber in their construction, were not to be destroyed by fire⁹⁸. They were not held together by wooden

⁹⁶ Tit. Liv. apud Senec. de Tranquillitat. Anim. c. 9. Aulus Gellius, l. vi. c. 17.

⁹⁷ Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. ult.

⁹⁸ Hirtius Lib. de Bell. Alexandrin. c. 1.

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frames, but contained solely between walls and vaults, consisting of rough or polished stone. Such was their solidity, that it became necessary to bore holes in the walls to pass the batteringrams from one house to another; for the Alexandrians had reared triple ramparts at the head of all their streets and lanes. These ramparts of square stone, were some of them forty feet high. The lower parts of the city were defended by towers rising in ten stories; other movable towers, of equal height, were ready to be wheeled forward wherever their batteries might be serviceable. In raising these works and engines the townsmen showed equal ingenuity and alacrity: they were themselves fertile in inventions, and imitated those of the Romans so closely, that it seemed impossible to tell which were the originals⁹⁹.

Arsinoë escapes from
Cæsar's
quarters.

During all this time Cæsar had the king in his power; whom he desired to show himself from the balcony of the fortified palace, and to command his subjects to desist from rebellion. But they disregarded his orders as coming from a king in captivity. Besides this Ptolemy Dionysus, and his brother, yet a child, Cæsar had in his custody Cleopatra, a willing prisoner, and Arsinoë her sister, younger than Cleopatra, but not less artful or less daring. Notwithstanding the vigilance with which the whole of the royal family was guarded, Arsinoë contrived means to escape from Cæsar's quarters, and to offer herself to fill among the Egyptians the place left vacant by the desertion of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Her coadjutor was Ganymede, an attending eunuch, but who being still a man in his mind, was well qualified to second his mistress' views of ambition. The flight of Arsinoë made Cæsar doubly vigilant in guarding her brethren the Ptolemies; and he condemned to death Pothinus, long suspected, and now convicted, of a traitorous correspondence with Achilles. Achilles did not long survive his accomplice; for Arsinoë having become all powerful with the Alexandrians

⁹⁹ Hirtius, c. 2, 3.

FROM ALEXANDER TO AUGUSTUS.

and the mercenaries, they readily sacrificed their general to make way for her favourite Ganymede¹⁰⁰.

The eunuch signalized his entrance on command by a measure highly perplexing to the Romans, and those Alexandrians residing within their protection. The whole of Alexandria was supplied with fresh water by the Nile only. The turbid river communicated, by subterranean conduits, with vaults under the city, in which, depositing the viscid sediment, it gradually purified into an wholesome beverage. Ganymede cut off these conduits from the canal of the Nile which supplied them, and forced into them sea water by means of hydraulic engines. The effect was at first remarked with more surprise than terror. Those inhabiting the extremities of the Roman quarters complained of brackish water; those residing more inward, declared the water in their vaults to be good. At length the latter became infected with saltiness, and the former grew altogether unfit to drink. The vast multitude of people, and the difficulty of supplying them in due time, in sufficient abundance, with this necessary of life, excited the wildest clamour. Many were eager to quit their houses or bulwarks, as no longer tenable, and immediately to put to sea, that on some part of the neighbouring coast, they might have it in their power to slake their burning thirst. Cæsar, with no small difficulty, composed the cowardly agitation, by assuring them, that on the shore of Alexandria, as on every other, fresh water might always be found by digging to a due depth. All hands were accordingly employed in the work of constructing wells, which were soon plenteously supplied with the bubbling element¹⁰¹.

Ganymede takes the command, and deprives the Romans of fresh water.

Cæsar again fights at sea to protect a convoy with reinforcements.

The day after this occurrence, an advice boat entered the harbour, and brought news to Cæsar, that the 37th legion from Asia, with corn, arms, and military engines, had been carried by the east wind far beyond its destination. To pro-

¹⁰⁰ Hirtius, c. 4.

¹⁰¹ Id. c. 5-9

protect this convoy, Cæsar put to sea, and gave command that his whole fleet should follow him. He left orders that none of his men should embark, because none could be safely spared from the war in Alexandria. In coasting the Chersonesus, a narrow neck of land between the sea and the lake Mareotis, a party of sailors were sent on shore to water, and some of them, straying into the country for plunder, were made prisoners. By this means, it became known at Alexandria that Cæsar had taken none of his soldiers on board; which encouraged the enemy to set sail with a view to intercept his return. The hostile fleets met, and through the bravery and skill of his Rhodians, Cæsar obtained the victory; having captured one of the enemy's quadriremes, and sunk another. The whole might have suffered similar misfortunes, had not night put an end to the battle. The east wind still continuing to blow, the Roman transports were towed to Alexandria by the victorious galleys¹⁰².

Another
seafight—
gallantry of
the Rhodians.

This defeat only increased Ganymede's exertions to obtain the superiority at sea. In all the mouths and harbours of the Nile there were many armed vessels, employed in collecting port duties and other revenues; these he commanded to be sent to him; even merchantmen and transports he contrived to make useful. Besides this small craft, he added to his former squadrons twenty-two quadriremes and five quinqueremes. Cæsar's fleet amounted to thirty-four ships of war, of which only fifteen exceeded the rate of trireme galleys. A new seafight was desired by both parties; though the risk was unequal, because Cæsar, if defeated, would have been completely ruined; but his enemies, in case of misfortune, had still the means of recovery. Notwithstanding this consideration, which had occurred not only to himself, but to all on board his armament, he sailed round the eastern promontory of Pharos in order to offer battle. The enemy also sailed round the western promontory of that island, with the same intention. The fleets, when they came in sight of each

¹⁰² Hirtius, c. 11.

other, perceived that they were separated by shallows, into which neither of them wished to be the first to venture. They lay, therefore, on their oars, the Egyptians with signs of defiance. Upon this Euphranor, admiral of the Rhodians, spoke as follows to Cæsar, "you fear to enter these shallows with your van, lest with it you should be forced into battle, before the remainder of your fleet finds time to expand. Commit the business to the Rhodians. We will sustain the engagement, unless I much deceive myself, until the other squadrons form. That the Egyptians should assume such insulting airs in our presence, both shames and grieves me." Four Rhodian galleys advanced, and were engaged by a far greater number of the enemy. But skill baffled superior force. The Rhodians keeping on the defensive, never exposed their sides, were never struck on their oars, but always opposed the firmest part of their prows to every hostile assault. Meanwhile the remainder of the Roman fleet gained time in fit order to join the battle: the issue was favourable: two Egyptian vessels were taken, and three sunk; the rest sheltered themselves under the batteries on the isle of Pharos, and on the mole¹⁰³ which joined that island to the city¹⁰⁴.

The tower or lighthouse, which stood on the northeastern point of the island, and which commanded the entrance of the harbour contiguous to the Roman quarters, had already, as we have seen, fallen into Cæsar's hands. But in the isle of Pharos, there was a street of houses little inferior in loftiness and solidity to those of Alexandria. This street extended westward from the vicinity of the mole; and by the towers and bulwarks interspersed in it, formed a sort of fortified chain of no inconsiderable strength. The mole also was fortified by two castles, one on the side of Alexandria, another on that of the island: and, though in other parts solid, had in it two wide arches supporting the two castles, under the

Cæsar's
danger in-
assaulting
the Hep-
tastadium.

¹⁰³ The Heptastadium. See above, vol. i. p. 497. ¹⁰⁴ Hirtius, c. 13—16.

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protection of which Egyptian vessels often darted through to the great annoyance of the Romans. Cæsar began with the island, and his assaults were successful: the enemy abandoned even the castle nearest to it on the mole. Many of them precipitated themselves into the sea from bulwarks thirty feet high, and swam 800 paces across the harbour Eunostus to the city. Next day, he assailed the second, and far stronger castle. He had expelled from it the garrison, filled up the arch under it, and was employed in strengthening it against the adjacent quarter of Alexandria, when the citizens sallied forth, and opposed him with equal impetuosity and obstinacy. They fought from a wide area between the mole and the city: Cæsar's soldiers on the mole originally consisted of only three cohorts, because more had not room to form: but, upon sight of the unexpected battle, crowds joined them from the fleet, partly through curiosity, and partly through a desire of fighting, and who having come in a tumultuary manner, without consideration and without colours, no sooner perceived themselves cooped up within a narrow space, and in danger of being attacked on all sides by the Alexandrians, than they hastened precipitately to reembark, involving Cæsar and his men in their flight. The pursuit of the Alexandrians augmented the confusion, which must have reached the utmost height, since even the vessel into which Cæsar had entered, was overloaded and sunk. But foreseeing this evil, he threw himself into the sea, and swam across the harbour to his ships, from which he immediately sent assistance to those whom they might yet find in distress. In the battle, four hundred legionaries had fallen, and a great number of sailors and marines. It must not be omitted that Cæsar, when he swam to his ships, carefully preserved some papers which he happened to hold in his hand when the sudden attack was made on him; it is said also that he dragged after him, in his teeth, the purple garment worn by the Roman generals in battle, and thereby saved from disgrace this proud ornament. A contrary report, how-

ever, states Cæsar's purple to have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, and to have been by them displayed on a trophy, which they speedily erected on the scene of action¹⁰⁵. CHAP.
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For several following days the Alexandrians strove to avail themselves of this victory, and the Romans laboured still more strenuously to repair the bad consequences of their defeat. Ptolemy Dionysus' situation had meanwhile continually been growing more irksome to him. Though treated with external marks of regard, all Cæsar's partialities were on the side of Cleopatra. The king's name was used with the Egyptians to serve political purposes; and when these were answered, Cæsar might destroy him as useless, to make room for the sole dominion of Cleopatra, his sister, his wife, and most relentless enemy. Such reflections sharpened the invention of a youth (he was then in his 17th year) who had grown up amidst intrigues and danger, and made him devise a plan by which he might obtain his freedom, even with Cæsar's consent. For this purpose some Alexandrians, with whom he secretly corresponded, sent proper agents to the Roman quarters, intimating that the government of Arsinoë had become altogether odious to them; and still more, the cruel domination of her minister, the eunuch Ganymede. That with Ptolemy, a lawful king, at their head, they would be ready, notwithstanding the opposition of Arsinoë and her abettors, to comply with such terms of accommodation as the Romans thought fit to prescribe. To enforce these words of delusion, Ptolemy, with tears in his eyes, begged Cæsar that he would not send him from his presence; a presence far dearer to him than his crown. The artifice, though suspected, was successful; for Cæsar considered that if the Alexandrians really meant peace, he could not prudently withhold it from them; and if they persevered in war, a young prince, ignorant of that art, would be of little use to them, but would prove a more honourable antagonist to himself, than a woman and a eunuch;

¹⁰⁵ Conf. Plutarch. in Cæsare, et Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 204.

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XXVIII.Reinforce-
ments to
Cæsar
under Mi-
thridates
and Anti-
pas.

and afford him a fairer pretence for reducing the kingdom (as was his desire) under the sole dominion of Cleopatra. Ptolemy having thus obtained his liberty, briskly joined the army, deriding Cæsar's credulity.

His party, however, was disconcerted by news that had not yet reached Cæsar, of the approach of Roman reinforcements from the side of Syria. At the same time many transports and victuallers were expected on the coast. To intercept the latter succours, an Egyptian squadron sailed to Canopus; part of the Roman fleet followed it under Tiberius, father to the future emperor of that name; a few ships, belonging to his island, were commanded by Euphranor the Rhodian; a man who had hitherto commanded victory in all Cæsar's seafights¹⁰⁶. But, on the present occasion, he was betrayed by his own courage, or the pusillanimity of those who acted with him. Having, according to his usual custom, led the van in attacking the enemy, he sunk one of their galleys, and was carried in pursuit of another, into the midst of the hostile fleet. The Romans, and even the Rhodians, were slow in supporting him; he was closely beset and sunk, with all on board his long victorious quadrireme¹⁰⁷.

Meanwhile the reinforcements from Syria had continued to advance, until their progress was interrupted by the garrison of Pelusium. They consisted far less of Roman legionaries, than of Syrians, Cilicians, Pergamenians, Jews, and Arabs: and were commanded by Mithridates of Pergamus, a man who derived his name from the great Mithridates of Pontus. He was not, however, son to that prince, but a captive taken in war, allied on the mother's side to the ancient royal house of Pergamus. From partiality to the mother, whose husband, a Gallic tetrarch, he murdered, Mithridates showed much favour to the son, and caused him to be liberally educated. After the ruin of his benefactor, young Mithridates

¹⁰⁶ Euphranor, sine quo nulla unquam dimicatio maritima, nulla etiam parum feliciter confecta erat. Hirtius, c. 25.

¹⁰⁷ Unus (viz. Euphranor,) ex omnibus eo prælio bene rem gessit, solus cum sua quadriremi victrice periit. Id. ibid.

submitted to the protection of Rome, and being commissioned to conduct the above mentioned reinforcements to Alexandria, showed no less ability than zeal in the performance of this important service for which he was afterwards rewarded by Cæsar with the crown of Pontus¹⁰⁸. Throughout his whole expedition, Mithridates was ably seconded by the courage and counsels of Antipas or Antipater, an Idumæan by country and a Jew in religion: particulars the more worthy of record, because the merit of Antipas, on this occasion, afterwards recommended his family to the good offices of Rome, and eventually made his son Herod, king of the Jews¹⁰⁹.

Mithridates, having overpowered the garrison of Pelusium, and removed all danger from any enemy behind him, instead of proceeding directly westward, through the canals and marshes of Lower Egypt, pursued the route towards Memphis, and from thence advanced into that part of the Delta which is nearest to Alexandria. In his march he was often opposed by forces assembled in the districts through which he passed; and by others which Ptolemy sent against him. He defeated both: and by force or well concerted stratagem, surmounted every difficulty that either the enemy or the nature of the country threw in his way, until he arrived at Canopus, the most western branch of the Nile.

Both Cæsar and king Ptolemy had been apprised of his progress, and both in consequence of this news sailed about the same time from Alexandria; the former to cooperate with Mithridates, the latter to resist his invasion. Ptolemy chose the shortest navigation along the branch of the Nile just mentioned, where he was powerful in shipping; and at the end of his voyage, encamped between that river and the marshes of the lake Mareotis. Cæsar also proceeded eastward from Alexandria, as if he likewise intended to remount some branch of the Nile, but in the night changing his course and extinguishing his lights, he sailed round the Chersonesus

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Total defeat of the Egyptians and death of Ptolemy. Olymp. clxxxiii. 2. B. C. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Appian. Mithridat. c. 121.

Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2. De

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or peninsula formed between the lake Mareotis and what was called by the Alexandrians the sea of Africa, and thus landing on the southwest of that city, proceeded with silence and celerity to fall unexpectedly on Ptolemy wherever he might be found ¹¹⁰. He accordingly surprised him in his encampment, made a dreadful havoc of his men, and forced him to attempt his escape in such hasty trepidation, that the vessel into which he threw himself for that purpose was upset, and the king drowned in the Nile ¹¹¹. Thus perished Ptolemy XII. Dionysus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of three years and eight months; a youth not deficient either in craft or courage.

Submission
of the Al-
exandrians,
and Cæsar's
long stay
among
them.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 2.
B. C. 47.
January,
April.

Cæsar's decisive victory made him master of Egypt. To appease his resentment, he was received at Alexandria by priests in solemn procession, and by the principal citizens bearing emblems of supplication. The kingdom, and all ranks of persons in it, were intirely at his disposal; and as no obstacle remained, there needed not to have been much delay in adjusting their different pretensions, and settling the future condition of their country. Yet notwithstanding the urgency of affairs that will be mentioned presently, Cæsar continued three months longer in Alexandria. The curiosities of various kinds united in the capital of such a renowned kingdom, and the preeminence of its schools in so many branches of useful knowledge, might prove resistless allurements to a conqueror who, amidst the warmest pursuits of ambition, was sedulously attentive to every ingenious art, and in matters of literature disdained not the minutest researches ¹¹². But his stay was unseasonably prolonged, chiefly through the wiles by which Cleopatra, young as she then was, had ensnared him. Every thing was settled agreeably to her pleasure; and being associated with Ptolemy *Junior*, a child in his eleventh year, she was left sovereign of Egypt and Cyprus, with three Roman legions to support her authority. Her sister Arsinoë,

¹¹⁰ Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 205. ¹¹¹ Hirtius, c. 31. ¹¹² Sueton. in Cæsare, c. 56.

whose character might have alarmed her jealousy, was carried as a captive to Rome, that, in the year following, she might be subjected to an ignominious death, after she had adorned the victor's triumph. But the youth and beauty of Arsinoë inspired pity even into the vile populace of Rome, and into the Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar durst not offend. She was allowed to remove into the province of Asia, and to reside in safety there, under the protection of Greek temples, until, five years afterwards, Mark Antony sacrificed her life to the relentless cruelty of Cleopatra ¹¹³.

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In the war which raged for six months in Alexandria, the inhabitants of that city, though degenerate from their ancestors, and divided amongst themselves, still exhibited memorable examples both of ingenuity and of vigour. Egypt deformed indeed, by the vices and follies of those who had long ruled it, still abounded, however, in the resources of men and money, of skill and industry; and still contained the materials of a great naval power. In the course of the war, not less than 110 galleys, which may be computed to have contained about 40,000 men, were destroyed by the Romans and Rhodians; notwithstanding which misfortunes, the Egyptians continued to equip new fleets, and found no difficulty in manning them ¹¹⁴, when Cæsar's victory by land decided the doom of their illfated country.

Observations on the war.

¹¹³ Plutarch. in Cæsar. et in Anton. ¹¹⁴ Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. passim.

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ascended. As plain undisguised dominion was his object, he rejected none of the most extravagant honours, which the servility of the senate was forward to heap on him: and when its members came in a body to announce to him his deification itself, he did not once rise from his throne, placed, not without design, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, from whom, on the faith of the vilest legends, he now boasted his descent. In the latter period of his civil wars, the most revered temples had not escaped his rapacity. He brought the value of twelve millions sterling into the treasury, and distributed that of a hundred pounds to each legionary soldier. The number of Roman citizens entitled to receive corn from the public granaries, he reduced, however, from 320,000 to half that number. Many hundreds of mean persons were received by him into the senate; the rolls of the people, on the other hand, he ennobled by admitting on them all foreigners resident in Rome, who cultivated liberal arts, or exercised learned professions¹⁰. With the assistance of Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria, he reformed the Roman calendar¹¹. Men eminent in arts or letters, belonging to that city, now frequently transported themselves to Rome; several of them, we may suppose in the train of Cleopatra, who came thither repeatedly to visit Cæsar, in whose family she resided at the time of his murder, regarding him as an absolute prince, and treating scornfully the noblest Romans as his subjects¹². Cæsar's pride was gratified with every mark of obeisance that was offered to him; and his ostentation¹³ of power, still more than his power itself, provoked his assassination in the senatehouse by a conspiracy of above sixty¹⁴ indignant members of that long degraded council.

¹⁰ Sueton. et Plutarch in Cæsare.

¹¹ Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf.

Sueton. in J. Cæsare, c. 40.

¹² Cicero ad Attic. l. xv. c. 5.

¹³ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c.

106. et seq.

¹⁴ Sueton. in J. Cæsare, c. 18.

At the time when this enormity was committed, precisely twelve months after the battle of Munda, its perpetration was more likely to eclipse the splendour of Rome, than to restore the Romans to liberty. Shortly before his murder, Cæsar had projected an expedition against the Parthians, the only hostile power which it remained for him to humble. Seventeen legions, with a body of 10,000 horse, destined to that service, he had partly transported across the Hadriatic: and, as the subjugation of so powerful and so extensive an empire must be the work of time, he had fixed, as a preliminary to his departure, the succession of magistrates at Rome, and of commanders in the provinces, for a period of five years¹⁵. Both before and afterwards, the arms and tactics of the legions showed themselves highly incompetent to the exigencies of a Parthian warfare. Cæsar's consummate abilities as a general, might have remedied their defects. He might have adopted the Macedonian spear, the most efficacious manual weapon against cavalry; he might, by continued attention and exercise, have improved the rapid impulse of the Roman squadrons; and thus, emulating the resistless career of Alexander, have carried his arms in triumph over the vast central plains of Asia. But his death, at the age of fifty-six, intercepted all such projects, without affording, in compensation, any well grounded hope of restoring the commonwealth, whether we examine the authors of that design, the instruments with which they had to work, above all the opponents whom they had to encounter.

At the head of the conspirators, historians¹⁶ place Caius Cassius, and the two Bruti, Marcus and Decimus. We have seen Cassius second in command in Crassus' unfortunate expedition, and afterwards defending Syria against an irruption of Parthians¹⁷. In the civil war that followed, he commanded part of Pompey's fleet; and after the battle of

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Measures
previously
taken
against the
Parthians.

Character
and views
of the con-
spirators.

¹⁵ Conf. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 110. & seq. Dion Cassius, l. xliv. p. ii. c. 106. Dion Cassius, l. xliii. p. 244. & seq. Plutarch. in Cæsare et in Bruto. 239. & Plutarch. & Sueton. in Cæsare.

¹⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. ¹⁷ Cicero, Phillippic. l. ii. c. 11.

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Pharsalia, hesitated whether to crave pardon of Cæsar, or to seize an opportunity of murdering him. From the latter purpose he was diverted by a mere accident. Cæsar, in the pursuit of Pompey through Cilicia, landed on a different side of the Cydnus, from that on which Cassius expected him; and the disappointed assassin hastily made his submission¹⁸. He was a man of more enterprise than constancy; daring in his resolutions, and precipitate in his measures. Marcus Brutus, his accomplice, and then his colleague in the pretorship, descended from the first and great champion of Roman liberty; and the dignity of the name he bore, was sustained by the purity and gravity of his own life, and his ardent zeal for freedom¹⁹. Though hating Pompey, who in the civil wars of Sylla had slain his father, and though so much the favourite of Cæsar, that many suspected him to be his son, (Servilia, the mother of Brutus, being no model of chastity,) he was taken fighting on the side of Pompey and the republic at Pharsalia. The victor protected and pardoned him; and disarmed, as he had reason to believe, all future hostility, by appointing Brutus commander in Cisalpine Gaul, and shortly afterwards pretor in the city. To such high favours even the coldest mind could not remain insensible; but Brutus, after the early loss of his father, had been brought up under the direction of Cato, his maternal uncle. From him chiefly, he imbibed the stern maxims of Stoicism; maxims at much variance with the benignity and softness of his natural temper. His name was familiar to the people as an able pleader of causes: he was in esteem with the great as a proficient in letters and philosophy. By all ranks he was thought qualified to fill an high destiny; and his abhorrence of tyranny, even in the hands of a benefactor, being whetted by the indignant Cassius, was stimulated into action by the desire of proving to the world and himself that he preferred his

¹⁸ Suetonius et Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 188. Conf. Plutarch. in Bruto.

¹⁹ Plutarch. in Bruto.

principles to his feelings. Decimus Brutus had served under Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and when his general marched into Spain, had been intrusted by him with the important siege of Marseilles. He had continued to live with him through all stages of his fortune in the closest intimacy, insomuch that Decimus, jointly with Mark Antony, was named executor of Cæsar's will, and guardian to his young kinsman, Octavius. To this youth, grandson to his sister Julia, Cæsar had bequeathed the inheritance of his name and fortune; constituting, in the same deed, Decimus Brutus his second heir²⁰. Bound by such a weight of obligation it is possible that Decimus approved not the conspiracy even in his own breast: and he acknowledged on a future occasion, that he was drawn into it by a certain resistless malignity in his fortune²¹. United with these three principals, there were many inferiors who thought themselves neglected by Cæsar; several of whom his contumely had offended²²; a few sanguine tempers, who hoped to reestablish the ancient commonwealth; a greater number who aimed chiefly at avenging its downfall in the usurper's blood.

Had the projectors of the revolution been qualified to act with systematic energy, little success could be expected from the only instruments which they had it in their power to employ. The whole fabric of the government had long hung on Cæsar. The armies and the provinces were in the hands of his dependents. Lepidus, recently his master of horse, commanded a legion in the suburbs. Mark Antony, after his patron's murder, remained sole consul; and two brothers of Antony, Caius and Lucius, filled respectively in Rome the offices of pretor and tribune. By the admission of

Their instruments and opponents.

²⁰ Sueton. in J. Cæsare. c. 83.

²¹ Se enim non sponte, sed fatali quodam infortunio tractum ad conspirationem esse. Oros. l. vi. c. 18. Conf. Appian. l. iii. c. 97.

²² Among others, the tribune Pontius Aquila, who, not rising from his tribunitial bench when

Cæsar passed in triumph, became an object of mockery. The dictator promised nothing to any one for several days afterwards, without adding, "si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit." Sueton. in J. Cæsare. c. 78.

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persons into the senate, who had no other merit but devotion to Cæsar's will, that council, now consisting of nine hundred members, had been doubled and debased. The Roman people, numbered at four million on their rolls, bartered liberty for bread and public shows; and the sounder part, either of the people or of the senate, were sure on every occasion, to be outvoted, overpowered, and stifled even in their murmurs, by the terrors of an armed force. Italy was filled with discharged veterans, who owed their lands to Cæsar; the capital itself was at this time crowded with them: part had come to see their generous benefactor before he marched against the Parthians; a greater, to solicit new favours from his bounty²³.

Antony
likely to
step into
Cæsar's
power.

Under such circumstances the conspirators found that, by destroying the usurper, only a small part of their work was done. In vain they paraded Rome with the cap of liberty. While the extent of their enterprise was unknown, they excited suspicion and terror: they were heard by most with such astonishment, and by all with such faint approbation, that they thought fit, on pretence of returning thanks to the gods in the capitol, to take refuge in that stronghold. Mark Antony temporized, while he still feared for his own life, and knew not by how many the conspiracy was abetted. Actually sole consul, and formerly Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, he might entertain fair hopes of succeeding to his patron's power; for his abilities as a general were equal to his ambition; he had dexterity to manage the rude military mind; and his manners endeared him to those licentious troops, whose rapacity he indulged, and whom he personally outdid in all kinds of profligacy²⁴. While he meditated fit means for gaining Cæsar's veterans, he immediately, by virtue of his high office, seized the public treasures in the temple of Ops, exceeding in value eight millions sterling: in quality of executor to Cæsar's testament, he at the same time obtained

²³ Dion Cassius, l. xlv. Appian. et in Bruto.
Bell. Civil. l. ii. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

²⁴ Plutarch in Anton.

the custody of all his papers. The whole scheme of usurpation was wisely conceived and ably executed. In addition to troops and treasures, the natural instruments of a tyrant, Antony, through Cæsar's papers, containing plans and hints for the future government of the empire, possessed himself as it were of the mind of the late dictator: and, as he quickly procured from the senate and people a decree for ratifying all Cæsar's acts, he was enabled, under that sanction, to exercise an uncontrolled authority at home and abroad, and to command at will the persons and properties of every community and every individual dependent on the Roman empire²⁵. He would thus have stepped, as it were, at once into Cæsar's throne, but for the sudden appearance of a rival, from whose youth and inexperience he had apparently little danger to apprehend. This was Octavius, just spoken of, now only in his nineteenth year. He had accompanied his adoptive father in his late war in Spain against the sons of Pompey; and that he might be ready again to attend him in his Parthian expedition, had sailed to Apollonia in Illyricum, a city well known to the readers of this history, in which he had assiduously employed himself six months, under eminent Greek masters, in the study of letters and philosophy. Neither the tears of his mother Attia, nor the remonstrances of his stepfather Philip, nor the admonitions of his most respected friends, could prevent Octavius, upon hearing of Cæsar's death, from appearing at Rome to claim the inheritance of his name and fortune²⁶. This design, in its full extent, I mean the inheritance of Cæsar's power as well as property, Octavius prosecuted with an admirable mixture of caution and courage, steadily advancing to his end, while he dexterously varied his means. In the first year of his public life, he was a zealous patriot; for the twelve years following, he acted the part of a bloody triumvir; during a reign of forty-four years, he has been called the father of the empire. Treated scornfully by Antony, he affected to adopt the sen-

Finds an
unexpected
competitor
in Octavius

His cour-
age and
dexterity.

²⁵ Id. *ibid.*²⁶ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 60.

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During the
competi-
tions of Oc-
tavius and
Antony,
the conspi-
rators gain
strength in
the East.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

timents of the more dignified part of the senate, and to be implicitly guided by Cicero²⁷, who though not admitted into the secret of the conspiracy, was of all men the most forward to fan the generous flame which it had kindled, that, through Cæsar's death, he might bring the commonwealth to life.

With indefatigable industry Octavius laboured to divide with Antony the affections of the veterans; during their struggle for which most important object, several conspirators, who had escaped from home amidst tumults that threatened their lives, gained strength²⁸ in the provinces assigned them by the late dictator's arrangements preparatory to his Parthian warfare. Decimus Brutus thus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; Trebonius in Asia, or Pergamus; Cimber in Bithynia; Brutus and Cassius, the year of their pretorship not being yet expired, had been superseded by Antony in the great governments of Macedon and Syria, to which they had been destined by Cæsar. In lieu of provinces he granted them commissions for providing Italy with corn. He afterwards assigned the province of Crete to Brutus, and that of Cyrenè to Cassius; with these inferior appointments they were greatly dissatisfied. Availing themselves, therefore, of the fleets intrusted to them as purveyors, they crossed the Hadriatic, and, in the manner that will be explained presently, collected a mighty force, not less than twenty legions, in the East.

Measures
of Antony.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

In this quarter, the fate of the empire was to be decided a second time: but previously to the main action at Philippi in Macedon, a more intricate though inferior scene had been carried on at Mutina in Italy. While the principal eastern provinces fell into the hands of the conspirators, those in the west remained with men secretly adverse to their cause. Plancus commanded five legions in Transalpine Gaul; Pollio commanded two legions in the Farther Spain; and Lepidus marched with seven legions into the nearer division of that country. Meanwhile the senate held its usual meetings: the

²⁷ Cicero ad Attic. l. xiv. c. 10, 11. tarch. in Bruto.

²⁸ Appian. Dion, Cassius, & Plu-

tribes occasionally convened to vote; but the resolutions of these bodies were often contradictory to each other, and the decrees of both were moulded at will by the two military chiefs who alternately prevailed. When Antony was sole master, he had obtained a vote of the people conferring on himself the province of Macedon, and Syria on Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship. He afterwards reversed the former part of that decree. Macedon was transferred to his brother Caius, and he himself took in exchange Cisalpine Gaul. The motive of this alteration was obvious. Vested with authority over Macedon, he had a right to send orders to the legions in that province, and accordingly commanded part of them to return into Italy. Possessed of this reinforcement, the government of Cisalpine Gaul would have placed him with an army at the gates of Rome, and fortified him, as it were, in that citadel from which Cæsar had assailed and intirely overset the commonwealth. That his design failed may be ascribed solely to the opposition of Octavius²⁹. By Defeated by Octavius. expending the whole of his private fortune, by the disbursement of every sum that he could beg or borrow, by the lavishness of his promises, above all, by the dexterity and energy which showed him born for command, he confirmed the fidelity of his own troops, and brought over to him many of those who had sworn allegiance to his adversary. Antony, to prevent still further defections, led his army, about 30,000 strong, into Cisalpine Gaul, that he might employ it in dislodging Decimus Brutus from that province. Octavius followed the enemy at a due distance to watch his motions, and was joined successively by the new consuls Hirtius and Pansa, bringing with them considerable levies for the public service.

Before their arrival, Decimus Brutus had thrown himself with two legions and auxiliaries into the strong city of Mutina or Modena. Antony besieged the place. To relieve it, various battles were hazarded; in the first of which Pansa was mortally wounded; and in the last, his colleague Hirtius,

Siege of
Mutina.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

²⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 371. & seq.
21. & seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p.

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Antony
crosses the
Alps—his
views
therein.

Breach be-
tween Oc-
tavius and
Decimus
Brutus.

Flight and
murder of
the latter.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

after storming the enemy's camp, was slain near the pretorium, or general's pavilion. During this latter action, Decimus had made a vigorous sally; and, if he and Octavius had zealously cooperated after Hirtius' death, there is little reason to doubt that they might have overwhelmed the common enemy³⁰. Antony had lost half his army in battle; he knew that, though he had been proscribed by the senate, the forces in Transalpine Gaul and in Spain were attached to his cause and his person: Ventidius also, actually a Roman pretor, had, in defiance of higher authority, been levying troops for his service. Under these circumstances, he had fled northwards in the night, with a view of waiting for the junction of Ventidius, and, if necessary, of passing the Alps, that he might be able to resist his pursuers.

The danger was less than he apprehended. Decimus Brutus had no confidence in Octavius. A conference between them only widened the breach. The death of the two consuls opened new views to the adopted son of Cæsar, who now declared, more sternly than ever, his purpose of bringing to punishment the murderers of his father. The senate, after employing his aid against Antony, showed an indiscreet suspicion of its auxiliary³¹. Orders came from Rome placing the whole of the combined army under the command of Decimus Brutus; regardless of which, Octavius not only retained under his standard the veterans attached to him, but gained many of the new levies made by the late consuls, and continued with this force in Italy, while Decimus, with a few broken legions, marched in pursuit of Antony into Gaul. There Decimus soon found it necessary to become himself the fugitive. In collusion with its commander, the great army under Lepidus had declared itself for Antony³²: the forces under Plancus and Pollio prepared to follow the

³⁰ Sueton. Appian. Dion, Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. c. 30. et seq. et Philippic. l. xiv. c. 10.

³¹ Velleius, l. ii. c. 62. Sueton. in

August. c. 12.

³² Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. c. 21. 35. Conf. Velleius, Appian.

example. The audacious Ventidius, after failing in a conspiracy for destroying Cicero and all the more dignified portion of the senate, brought three legions to the same standard. Decimus, threatened by so many enemies, hastened towards the Rhætian Alps, in order to escape by that intricate route into Macedon. He was deserted by his army, and cruelly slain in the neighbourhood of Aquileia ³³.

Meanwhile Octavius availed himself with great ability of the favourable situation in which fortune had placed him. He confirmed the affections of the troops by which he had been recently joined. They, as well as Cæsar's veterans, regarded him as rightful heir to the dictator. Rome was in consternation at the junction of Lepidus with Antony. Brutus and Cassius were at a distance; and Octavius, at the head of a great army in Italy, seemed the only present help against an enraged usurper abetted by perfidious rebels. Under these circumstances, the young Cæsar intimated his intentions of standing candidate for the consulship. Such a pretension in a man under his twentieth year was not cordially supported even by his friends. But a party of centurions being sent to solicit for him, asserted his strong claim by pointing to their swords ³⁴. He entered Rome with his army, but again evacuated the city, on pretence of leaving the elections free. Q. Pedius, a senator, intirely at his devotion, was united with him in the consulship. Having left the management of civil affairs to this obsequious colleague, Octavius marched from Rome apparently with a design to combat the public enemies in Gaul. His real purpose, however, was far different; he secretly negotiated with these enemies, and finding the views of Antony and Lepidus intirely conformable to his own, thought it no longer necessary to keep any measures with the republic. By orders communicated to his creature Pedius, the decree against Antony and Lepidus was reversed, and the attainder passed on them was directed against Brutus and

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Octavius
elected
consul.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

³³ Valer. Maxim. l. xiv. c. 7.
Oros. l. vi. c. 18. Appian, Velleius.

³⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 18. Dion,
Appian.

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Cassius. It was afterwards extended to all their accomplices and abettors, and to the opponents of the Cæsarian cause in every part of the empire.

Second tri-
umvirate.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

Meanwhile Antony and Lepidus passed the Alps: they advanced towards Mutina, the scene of recent warfare, and were met by Octavius on the banks of the river Rhenus, which flows in that neighbourhood from the Apennine into the Po. According to concert, each had brought with him five legions. The three generals held continual conferences during three days in a little island in the Rhenus, and adjusted among them the terms of the second triumvirate. It agreed precisely with the first in the authority which the triumvirs assumed over Rome; its laws, revenues, armies, and provinces³⁵. But the first triumvirate was a secret transaction, announced only in its effects; the second was a public and formal deed³⁶, declared by proclamations, and commemorated by medals³⁷. It was to have force, like the former, during a period of five years; for it was still thought prudent to amuse the state, and even the army, with the shadow of returning liberty. But before this could be realized, it was necessary that the murderers of Julius Cæsar should be brought to condign punishment; Cæsar, once the bulwark of the empire, and now rather worshipped as a god, than revered as the most glorious of departed sovereigns. The second triumvirate therefore began in blood. The names of 300 senators and 2,000 persons of the equestrian order were published in the execrable tables of proscription³⁸. These men, as irreconcilable enemies to the Cæsarian party, were subjected to military execution. Antony

The pro-
scription.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 43.

³⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 2. et seq. et Dion, l. xlvi. p. 326. An exclusive authority was assigned to Lepidus in both Spains and in Narbonese Gaul: a similar authority to Antony in all the rest of Gaul on both sides the Alps: Octavius, for his peculiar province, had Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But these arrangements had no immediate ef-

fect, and were speedily altered.

³⁶ Appian, l. iv. c. 7.

³⁷ A silver medal of Octavius, (C. Cæsar III. vir) has on the reverse an altar with three figures sacrificing, and victory presenting them with a crown: the inscription *Salus generis humani*.

³⁸ Appian, Dion, Plutarch in Anton. Velleius, l. ii. c. 65.

resigned to death his uncle; Lepidus his brother; and Octavius, the man whom he once professed to love, and whose talents and virtues he never ceased to revere. His sacrifice of Cicero is represented as reluctant and painful; but Antony was inexorable; the orator's life must atone for the philippics which he had pronounced: this condition was indispensable; rejected, Antony declared that the conferences must end³⁹: Octavius yielded most disgracefully, the immortal fame of Cicero for ever branding his sordid cruelty, and aggravating his sanguinary breach of friendship. The proscription once begun, was carried farther than the authors of it intended. Rapacity and private vengeance multiplied executions; and Italy, especially Rome, was left for several days at the mercy of a licentious soldiery. Trampling on all besides, the triumvirs were solicitous solely about gratifying their troops with every present indulgence, and every alluring prospect. It was determined, therefore, in addition to other advantages bestowed on them, that at the conclusion of the present war they should be put in possession of twenty of the finest districts of Italy, and hold them in perpetual property, without the smallest regard to the rights of former owners⁴⁰.

Having made these arrangements in common, the triumvirs separated their forces, Lepidus, with the smallest division, remained in the administration of Rome. Antony marched to Brundisium with a view to cross the Hadriatic against Brutus and Cassius. Octavius purposed in due time to follow him, but meanwhile proceeded to the opposite coast of Italy, that he might suppress, on that side, two very considerable enemies. The first of these was Cornificius, propretor in the Roman province of Africa, who, holding his commission from the senate, refused to resign it to the officer whom the triumvirs sent to supersede him. After a long resistance against Octavius' lieutenants, Cornificius was defeated and slain⁴¹. The men of any name in his party either put

Octavius' war with Sextus Pompey. Olymp. cxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

³⁹ Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion l lvii. p. 331. et seq.

⁴¹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. & Dion, l. xlviii.

⁴⁰ Id. ibid.

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themselves to death, or took refuge in Sicily. In this island, the standard of the republic had been raised by Sextus, the surviving son of Pompey. Amidst the conflict of parties, after Cæsar's murder, Sextus, who had long wandered an exile in Spain, was reinstated in the possessions of his family, exceeding in value four millions sterling⁴²: he was even intrusted with the important authority of prefect on the western coast. The fleet committed to him in this character, he was diligent to augment: it rendered him master of Sicily, and was employed by him during the rage of the proscription, in saving many who escaped to the seacoast from the dagger of assassins. To dislodge this enemy from Sicily, Octavius advanced to Rhegium: his lieutenant, Salvidienus, was defeated in a naval engagement⁴³, and Pompey, confident in his superiority at sea, defied the 20 legions of his adversary.

State of the
eastern
provinces.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

In this posture of affairs, Octavius was urged by Antony to join him with all possible expedition. The rich possessions in Asia formed incomparably the most valuable portion of the empire, and the storm gathering in that quarter, required, he said, their united and immediate exertions to dispel it. Brutus and Cassius indeed, since their obscure flight from Italy, had been carried on a tide of uninterrupted prosperity. In consequence of his long and splendid employment in the East, particularly his signal service in repelling the Parthians from Syria, the name of Cassius stood high with the legions in that and the neighbouring provinces. With another description of persons of no small weight, the fame of Brutus was unrivalled. The Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, were frequented by young Romans of distinction, who there prosecuted those refined studies in which Brutus excelled, and heard the professors of that lofty philosophy which Brutus had reduced to practice. In the ashes of Athens a new fire began to kindle; Cæsar was branded as a tyrant

⁴² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 75.
Cicero, Philippic. l. xiii. c. 5.

⁴³ Dion and Appian.

worse than Pisistratus; and the statues of Brutus and Cassius were placed above those of Harmodius and Aristogiton⁴⁴. The contagion seized the neighbouring cities: it spread from Greece to Macedon, from Macedon to Lesser Asia. Trebonius, who commanded in the last named province, supplied Cassius with money and troops: Hortensius resigned Macedon to Brutus: to the same leaders the quæstors in the inland parts brought the revenues under their charge, and the cities on the coast afforded the use of their shipping. The veterans of Pompey, still numerous in the countries which had been subdued by him, particularly Syria, flocked to a standard raised to avenge the cause of that long admired chief. Cassius thus assembled twelve legions in Syria, and Brutus half that number in Macedon: a vast convoy was also captured near Demetrias bringing back, by orders of Antony, the arms and stores which Cæsar had provided for his purposed expedition against the Parthians. Caius Antonius and Dolabella had been respectively appointed, as mentioned above, to the governments of Macedon and Syria. Caius had scarcely entered his province, when he was made prisoner by Brutus⁴⁵. He was committed to the custody of Hortensius, and afterwards put to death by Brutus's orders, to avenge the execrable murder of Cicero. Dolabella's proceedings were as capricious as his mind was unprincipled. He had been destined, though under age, for the consulship by Cæsar. He warmly approved of the assassination of his benefactor; yet insisted on the ratification of all the usurper's acts, because among them was his own appointment to office. He thus became colleague to Antony, who gained him to his views, by transferring to him from Cassius, the rich government of Syria. On his way thither, supported by a fleet and army, he surprised Smyrna, and slew Trebonius, governor of the province, with shocking circumstances of cruelty⁴⁶. Having advanced into Syria, he

⁴⁴ Cicero, Philippic. l. x. c. 4. et seq. Ad Brutum. l. ii. 7.

⁴⁵ Plutarch in Bruto.

⁴⁶ Cicero, Philippic. l. xi. c. 2, 3.

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made an unsuccessful attempt on Antioch, where the gates were shut against him. He was admitted, however, into the maritime city Laodicea, where, trusting to promised aid from Cleopatra, he purposed to make a vigorous defence; but being blocked up by sea and land, and finding Cassius, through a conspiracy of the garrison, ready to enter the place, he withdrew by a voluntary death from the just vengeance of his enemies⁴⁷. Cassius, thus master of Syria, purposed to invade Egypt, that he might punish the hostility of Cleopatra, and raise heavy contributions on her kingdom.

Cruel exactions of Brutus and Cassius there. Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

The affairs of the friends to liberty were in this happy posture in the East, when they learned the complete triumph of the opposite party in the West, and the bloody proscription with which it had been accompanied. Upon this intelligence Brutus, who had sailed into Asia to cooperate with Cassius, strongly urged their immediate return into Italy, that they might deliver what yet remained of the republic, from the hands of merciless assassins. But unfortunately Cassius was of a different opinion. Among the troops which both of them commanded, were many who had served under Cæsar: these men, unless gratified in all their hopes, might revolt to the enemy: they had large arrears due to them; the rich cities of Lesser Asia lay at their mercy; some of these, amidst the dissensions of Rome, affected independence; others had recently given assistance to Dolabella: it would be imprudent to return into Europe, while such enemies remained behind in Asia; on which pretence, waving for the present his expedition against Egypt, Cassius concerted with his colleague, as a readier expedient for raising money, the exaction of heavy contributions from all those places in Lesser Asia, which had either opposed their views, or appeared lukewarm in their cause. In this manner an army, raised professedly to support liberty, was employed in measures stamped with the cruelest despotism⁴⁸. From the province of Asia, once forming the little kingdom

⁴⁷ Dion, Appian, Cicero, Epist. ad Familiar. l. xii. c. 13. 15.

⁴⁸ Appian. l. iv. c. 62. et seq. et Plutarch. in Bruto.

of Pergamus, the revenues of ten years were extorted at a single payment. The plunderers spread over the whole peninsula, and accumulated in particular places in proportion to the resistance which their enormities provoked. A great fleet, as well as army, was necessary for the reduction of Rhodes, which indignantly submitted to Cassius. Xanthus, long head of 23 confederate republics in Lycia, was assailed with equal vigour by Brutus. It stood a long siege, and retorted in desperate sallies the evils inflicted on it. At length exhausted and hopeless, the Xanthians set fire to their city, and perished by their own hands in a general massacre. Shortly after, Lentulus, commanding the fleet which had recently acted against Rhodes, gained the Lycian city Andriaca, by breaking the chain which stretched across its harbour; and being, in consequence of this success, reinforced by a Lycian fleet, set sail to the well known strait between Abydus and Sestus, to wait the land forces and assist in their transportation from Asia into Europe⁴⁹.

During these transactions the conduct of Cleopatra bore a doubtful aspect. She had proposed to give powerful assistance to Dolabella, but the swift destruction of that audacious man frustrated her design; and Serapion, her viceroy in Cyprus, had, in contempt of her authority, joined forces with Brutus and Cassius. She put to sea with a great fleet, to assist Octavius and Antony in transporting their troops from Brundisium to Epirus, but had not long left the harbour of Alexandria, when stormy weather obliged her to put back with much loss by shipwreck. Murcus, a republican admiral, who had been stationed at Tenarus the southern cape of Peloponnesus, in order to intercept Cleopatra in her voyage to Italy, hearing of the queen's return into port, immediately steered, with 100 ships, for Brundisium, that he might obstruct the embarkations there. He arrived, however, too late for this purpose. The triumvirs, anxious to remove the war at a distance from Italy, where their recent cruelties exposed

Octavius
and Antony
cross the
Hadriatic.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 8.
B. C. 42.

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid.* et Dion Cassius, l. xlvii.

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Brutus and
Cassius re-
view their
army.

them to so many enemies, had already sent the greater part of their force across the Hadriatic: Octavius and Antony availed themselves of a favourable gale to follow, in spite of Murcus now reinforced by fifty galleys under Ænobarbus, an intrepid commander. Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius having arrived on the coast of Thrace, reviewed their army near the bay of Melanes, which washes the eastern side of the Chersonesus. In foot, they mustered about 80,000: their cavalry exceeded 20,000; the latter consisting wholly of foreigners: Thessalians, Illyrians, Galatians, Arabs, and even 4,000 Parthians. The triumvirs, who by this time marched through Macedon to encounter them, were equally strong in foot: but they had only 13,000 horse. The review near the bay of Melanes, concluded with a speech from Cassius, worthy, as it is handed down to us, of being pronounced to Roman citizens in arms, in the happiest times of the republic⁵⁰. The generous sentiments which it breathed, might touch the noble Romans who were present, many of them persons of consular and senatorian dignity. But the praise of those institutions which had rendered their commonwealth great and happy, could not be highly relished by strangers who had long smarted under the Roman yoke: nor could the prospect of equal laws and impartial freedom delight soldiers of fortune, corrupted by indulgence, and inured to rapacity. They were more sensible to the donatives distributed among them by their generals from the recent spoils of Asia. But this wealth disqualified them, as we shall see, from combating on equal terms a poorer enemy.

Proceed to
Philippi.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

It was the object of Brutus and Cassius to proceed directly through the well known route of Ænos and Doriscus, and thus to pass the mountainous frontier of Thrace into Macedon. But they found the ordinary passes which led into the rich plain between Philippi and Amphipolis already occupied by

⁵⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 90. et seq.

advanced parties of the enemy. By Rhaseupolis, however, a Thracian chieftain who accompanied them, they were conducted through circuitous tracts to the neighbourhood of Philippi, a city opposite to the isle of Thasos, and mentioned on many former occasions in this history. It stood ten miles north of Neapolis, regarded as its harbour; and thirty miles east of Amphipolis a famous Athenian colony. Brutus and Cassius, it might have been expected, would immediately have fallen on the advanced guard of the enemy, which, under Saxa and Norbanus, had possessed itself of the ordinary passes. But these generals had been joined by Rhascus, brother to Rhaseupolis. The two Thracians had concerted to secure an interest with both parties, that whichever prevailed, they might be themselves safe, since he who happened to espouse the winning side, would easily, it was hoped, procure pardon for his brother. By timely intimation from Rhascus, Saxa and Norbanus fell back to Amphipolis; where they were quickly joined by the army under Antony, for Octavius was detained by sickness at Dyrrachium⁵¹.

Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius fortified two camps on rising ground, between Philippi and Neapolis. The former place was on their right. Their left was flanked by a marsh extending to the sea. Neapolis afforded a safe harbour for their shipping. The isle of Thasos served as a magazine for the surplus of their provisions and stores. In this secure position, masters of the sea, and amply provided with every accommodation, they bade defiance to invaders, whose circumstances were in all respects less favourable. Antony had taken post at a mile's distance, in a low situation, overlooked by the enemy, and in a district liable to torrents from the hills; an inconvenience the greater, as winter was fast approaching. When joined by Octavius, imperfectly recovered from indisposition, they formed two camps: Octavius opposing himself to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The country behind them had been already foraged, and provisions were

First battle
of Philippi,
and death
of Cassius.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

⁵¹ Dion, Appian.

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to be obtained only by the sword. The urgency of their affairs required an immediate decision, and for several weeks they employed various expedients to provoke the enemy to battle. The marsh itself was pierced, a work of vast labour! by one side; but the passage made in it was traversed by the other. If Brutus and Cassius had continued thus to act on the defensive only a few days longer, the invaders must have retreated in disgrace. But the soldiers were intoxicated with the good fortune that had hitherto attended them, and in haste to enjoy the riches which they had accumulated in Asia. In consequence of their impatient clamours, a general engagement was fought, in which Brutus penetrated to the camp of Octavius, and Antony to that of Cassius. In both scenes of the battle, the loss was great on the side of the vanquished. Cassius lost eight, and Octavius sixteen thousand. The victors, Brutus and Antony, instead of following up their advantage, being equally anxious to learn the fortune of their respective colleagues, returned about the same time, and passed each other on the field. In this manner Brutus approached towards an eminence overlooking Philippi, where Cassius had rallied and taken post, sending out Titinius, a centurion, to bring him intelligence of the enemy. Titinius was speedily involved in a squadron of Brutus' cavalry, who rapidly advanced with him towards Cassius. This just discomfited general believing Titinius in the hands of enemies, and the whole irretrievably lost, presented his breast to the sword of Pindar, a Greek slave, and died. Titinius, reproaching himself as the occasion of such fatal precipitancy, accompanied Cassius in death; Brutus arrived shortly afterwards to hear the sad story. On viewing the dead body of Cassius, "this," he said, "was the last of the Romans⁵²."

Murcus
and Æno-
barbus cap-
ture a
great con-
voy with
reinforce-

Brutus, having sent the body of Cassius to Thasos for private interment, to avoid the inauspiciousness of a public funeral, spared no pains to restrain the boiling passions of his followers. Their loss in action was less than that of the ene-

⁵² Plutarch. in Bruto.

my. Where Brutus fought, they had completely conquered. They insisted on again meeting their opponents, that they might no longer endure their proud insults. Meanwhile an event happened, which made Octavius and Antony more anxious than ever to engage. On the day of the former battle, a great convoy from Brundusium had been taken or destroyed by Murcus and Ænobarbus. The transports conveyed two entire legions, with many squadrons of horse, and auxiliary infantry. They were escorted by 17 stout galleys, which the soldiers in the transports endeavoured to support in fight, by grappling with the enemy's vessels, and thereby obstructing their motions. But they were repelled with great dexterity, especially by burning darts; the troops, taken, swore allegiance to Brutus and Cassius. Domitius Calvinus, who commanded this illfated embarkation, after being five days at sea, returned to Brundusium with his single vessel⁵³.

The news of this event which, with the one army, enforced the necessity of a speedy decision, filled the other with an unseasonable ardour. Brutus reluctantly abandoned the certain advantages which must have resulted from a prudent delay. He only exhorted his men to render illustrious by their valour a victory, the fruits of which their alacrity obliged him prematurely to gather. In this second battle, which was fought twenty days after the first, neither the first arrangements nor the subsequent movements are described⁵⁴. The field was long disputed with obstinacy, and with great slaughter on both sides, until the troops recently defeated under Cassius began gradually to give way. Their retreat, at

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ments to
the enemy.

Second bat-
tle of Phi-
lippi, and
death of
Brutus.

⁵³ Appian. & Plutarch. in Bruto.

⁵⁴ The battles at Philippi, as they decided the great cause between republicans and imperialists at Rome, were deformed by fictions and inconsistencies, to which the spirit of party naturally gave birth. The contradictions of contemporary authors, incapable of being moulded into any probable narrative, reduced future historians to the necessity of

expatiating on circumstances, striking indeed in themselves, but common to most ancient battles: the pomp of religious ceremonies, the harmony of mingled music, the fury of close assault, fierce confused murmurs breaking now into shouts of victory, and now into cries of despair. Conf. Dion. Appian. Plutarch. ubi supra.

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length manifest, disheartened the rest of the army, while the few who had engaged in this warfare on principle, exerted all the heroism which glory and liberty inspire. Among the Romans of dignity, who defied death in the thickest ranks of the enemy, historians mention the nephew of Cassius, the son of Lucullus, and the son of Cato. Brutus, mindful of his duties as a general, should seem to have intended to rally the fugitives on the heights behind his encampment. But soon learning that the rout was general, and that his party was closely pursued by Antony, he presented his breast to the sword of Strato of Edessa, a literary friend who accompanied him; and who reluctantly performed the act of kind cruelty required at his hands, after the office, which he had declined, was ready to be executed by a slave⁵⁵. Thus died Brutus, in his thirty-eighth year; a man who, being the unfortunate champion of a good cause, has in all ages met with his full share of renown.

Surrender
of the re-
publican
army—
separation
of the fleet.

The great army, which he commanded, was either cut in pieces, or surrendered to the conquerors. Octavius and Antony thus augmented their legions by the number of 20,000 men. The various squadrons belonging to the enemy assembled in the Hadriatic, under Murcus and Enobarbus. The former of these admirals, with more than half the combined fleet, sailed towards Sicily, and there joined Sextus Pompey; Enobarbus declined to acknowledge for a superior Pompey, to whom he avowed dislike, both on account of his hereditary arrogance, and of his personal ferocity. He therefore kept his station with upwards of fifty galleys in the Hadriatic, ready, as he declared, to cooperate with every one who, by persevering in hostility to the triumvirs, approved himself a friend to his country⁵⁶.

Division of
armies and
provinces.

Meanwhile the victorious triumvirs divided their spoils, consisting in armies and provinces, with little regard to the interests of Lepidus, their absent colleague. In the former

⁵⁵ Plutarch. in Bruto.

⁵⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 2. & seq.

division of the empire, the two Spains, together with Narbonnese Gaul, had been assigned to the exclusive authority of Lepidus. But the two Spains were now claimed by Octavius, and the Narbonnese Gaul was demanded by Antony: the other countries comprehended under the name of Gaul already acknowledged his jurisdiction. If Lepidus prepared to resist, with any vigour, the injury done to him, it was agreed that he should be pacified by a grant of the Roman province of Africa. Octavius, still labouring under bad health, prepared to return into Italy, that he might establish the victorious veterans in the districts assigned to them in that country. Antony chose, for his department, the settlement of the eastern empire. His more uninterrupted exertions against the common enemy, entitled him to reap the richest fruits of victory. In the contributions, however, which he levied, the legions bearing the name of Octavius on their shields were to have their due share. Two of these legions prepared to accompany Antony to the East; Octavius was to receive two legions in return, then serving in Cisalpine Gaul. Having thus adjusted all matters amicably between them, they recorded their compact in writing, exchanged duplicates, and repaired to their several destinations; Octavius crossing the Hadriatic into Italy, and Antony the Hellespont into Asia⁵⁷.

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between
the con-
querors.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

The routes pursued by these generals did not differ more widely than did their future employments. Antony's progress in Asia was a safe and inglorious triumph: Octavius's undertakings in Italy were accompanied with difficulty and extreme peril. At the head of a victorious army, the former found it easy, in the exhausted and humbled provinces of the East, to trample on religion and government, on all laws of justice, and even decency. The inhabitants of ancient Greece, and particularly the Athenians, he distinguished with some symptoms of regard, in consideration of the glory of their

Proceed-
ings of An-
tony in
Asia.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

⁵⁷ Dion. l. xlviii. p. 357. & seq. Appian. l. v. c. 1. & seq.

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ancestors. In Lesser Asia and Syria, a few places, recently ruined by Brutus and Cassius, were repaired; but the general course of his proceedings was equally cruel and contumelious. At Ephesus, long regarded as the capital of Ionia, he was met by ambassadors from free cities, and by deputies from all the districts that formerly composed the kingdom of Pergamus. From his imperial tribunal, he told them that he had come into the East chiefly with a view to collect money for armies amounting collectively to 400,000 men. That his colleague Octavius had gone to Italy, that he might provide the veterans of these armies with settlements; in other words, that he might transplant the cultivators of Italy, and make a total revolution in the state of its landed property. "As for you, Greeks of Asia! you shall be treated more favourably; your farms shall remain unviolated, you shall enjoy your houses, temples, and the honoured tombs of your ancestors. But you must compensate for these indulgencies by large pecuniary contributions. To the murderers of Cæsar, who was always your friend and protector, you advanced in two years the revenues of ten; we shall be contented with demanding the same sum, provided it be paid in the course of one year." The deputies and ambassadors were thrown into consternation. One bolder than the rest told him, that it would be impossible to comply with his requisition, unless he had the means of creating in one year ten seedtimes and ten harvests. After the humblest supplications of the deputies, some of whom prostrated themselves on the ground, assuring him, that to make former disbursements much plate, and even many sacred ornaments, had been already coined into money, Antony abated somewhat of the exorbitancy of his demands: he consented that instead of ten years, the revenues of only nine should be raised, and that the space of two years should be allowed for collecting them⁵⁸. Arrangements of a similar kind were made with the sacerdotal principalities scattered over Lesser Asia, with the allied kings

⁵⁸ Plutarch, in Anton.

on the eastern frontier, and with those whom the Romans mocked with the appellation of free cities.

In the estimate of pecuniary resources, Egypt was not to be overlooked; and in the triumvir's progress eastward, Cleopatra had been desired to meet him in Cilicia, that she might explain the ambiguities above mentioned in her conduct. This at least was the ostensible reason for demanding her attendance. But Antony, when he served in Egypt under Gabinius, had been wounded by the charms of Cleopatra, then in her 12th, but now in her 29th year, and well entitled, by her attainments, to regard a meeting with such a man as a sure triumph, both from his personal character and the notorious profligacy of those by whom he was accompanied. In the free raillery which he permitted to the companions of his revels, Antony finding that they described his faults truly, believed them equally sincere when they flattered. Intoxicated by the incense offered to him, he assumed the character of the god of wine, and as such was attended by a fraternity long known among the Greek cities of Asia under the name of artists in the service of Bacchus⁵⁹. They consisted of players, machinists, musicians, boxers, tumblers, jugglers, and all sorts of showmen. In the idle and voluptuous cities of Lesser Asia, these were the great amusers of the people at the sacred fairs and other public assemblies. Their strolling parties were joined by many who, though not themselves artists, were professed lovers of such arts; who frequented the sacred groves, who held nocturnal revels in temples, who united most criminal pursuits with the idle frolics of mirth and mummary. The whole scenical train had incorporated itself into an order or community which assembled successively at Teios, the native city of Anacreon; at Ephesus, Myonnesus, and Lebedus. Antony adopted this congenial tribe for his own. Its members, chiefly, engrossed his favours; and notwithstanding his promise just made to

Artists in
the service
of Bacchus.

⁵⁹ 'Οι περί τον Διόνυσον τεχνίται. Plin- nius, l. v. p. 212.
tarch. in Anton. p. 942. Conf. Athe-

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the convention at Ephesus, that he would be content with money alone, the estates and elegant mansions of many wealthy landholders in Asia became the boon with which unfeeling tyranny rewarded frontless impudence and unblushing profligacy⁶⁰.

Antony a
prey to the
wiles of
Cleopatra.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

Cleopatra, duly informed of these proceedings, came indeed with rich presents to soothe the angry triumvir, but came at the same time in a shape more likely to extort tribute. Her appearance was that of Venus wafted up the Cydnus to Tarsus, that she might frolic with the new Bacchus. Poetry has copied faithfully from history a scene which cannot by fancy be embellished: the galley of Cleopatra, resplendent with gold in the stern, its sails of Tyrian purple, the silver oars moving with sweet symphonies, the queen of love reclined in her tissue pavilion; the Cupids, Graces, and Nereids by whom the goddess was attended, and by whose delicate hands her soft barge was navigated. A voluptuous perfume, which diffused itself on both sides the Cydnus, announced her arrival: Tarsus was deserted; even the tribunal of Antony, then giving judgment in the marketplace. Bacchus and Venus mutually visited and entertained each other⁶¹: and from this time forward the triumvir, forgetting his dignity, his family, and his country, surrendered himself the willing slave to a harlot, whose dominant passions were ambition and vengeance.

His cruelties and depredations.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

Her prospective cruelty had recently destroyed Ptolemy *Junior*, her destined partner in power, as he advanced to the age of manhood. Her sister Arsinoë, whom Cæsar had spared, was now torn from a temple at Miletus, because she had once presumed to be her rival. Serapion, the disobedient viceroy of Cyprus, was dragged from the altar of Tyrian Hercules: the Aradians were compelled to surrender a youth who had personated her unfortunate brother Ptolemy Dionysus⁶². According to the will of Cleopatra, Antony constituted

⁶⁰ Plutarch.

⁶² Appian. l. v. c. 9. Joseph. An-

⁶¹ Plutarch. *ibid.* & Athenæus, l. tiq. l. xv. c. 4.

friends or enemies to Rome, displaced governors; superseded CHAP.
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While the master of the Roman dominions in the East thus exhibited his worthlessness in a manner as undisguised as ever was done in succeeding times by the worst and basest of the emperors, Octavius was called to the performance of a very different part in Italy; a part demanding the united exertions of craft and courage. He returned to Brundisium with half the army that had conquered at Philippi, upon the declared design of settling the veterans belonging to that army, and others yet unprovided for who had served under Julius Cæsar, in about twenty of the richest districts in Italy, which they had selected for the retreats of their old age before engaging in the late warfare⁶⁴. The undertaking was highly invidious: Octavius still laboured under the same

Proceed-
ings of Oc-
tavius in
Italy.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

⁶³ Appian. Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 9.

⁶⁴ Appian. l. v.

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infirm state of health in which he had left Macedon: his abilities, however, were great; his diligence was indefatigable; and he had most useful counsellors and coadjutors in Agrippa and Mæcenas, whose different talents, the one in military, the other in all civil affairs, were destined to uphold the stability and glory of his future reign. As the army had been long masters in Italy, and an army flushed with victory seemed the better entitled to domineer, Octavius commenced his odious task with alacrity, and entertained hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion, when a bold opposition arose to him from a quarter the least to be suspected.

His opponents
there.

Antony had sent into Italy a confidential agent named Manius, a man of intriguing ambition, who sought to make himself of importance with his superiors by fomenting their mutual jealousies. He had connected himself with Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had participated in all her husband's ostentatious dissoluteness when he was vicegerent to Cæsar; in all his execrable cruelties when he became triumvir with Octavius; who had learned, under the incendiary Clodius, her first husband, every art calculated to inflame popular discontent and delude the credulous multitude. With Manius and Fulvia was confederate Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's surviving brother; for the death of Caius Antony, we have seen, had ill atoned for the murder of Cicero. Lucius held the office of consul, which, since the establishment of the first triumvirate, had been a mere titular dignity, but to which Lucius, a man of a high mind and sanguine temper, expected, through his credit with the triumvir Marcus, to restore its pristine splendour⁶⁵. Octavius was greatly perplexed by the machinations of persons so intimately connected with his partner in the empire. When, according to his written agreement with Antony, he desired that two legions should be resigned to him, in return for an equal number bearing his own name on their shields, which had passed with that general into Asia,

⁶⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. Appian. l. v. c. 12. et seq.

these persons found means to elude his just demand. They maintained also that Antony, or themselves as his representatives, should participate in the satisfaction and honour of settling the veterans in the lands allotted to them. In support of this claim, Fulvia ventured to appeal to the army itself. Sometimes in a military garb, sometimes as a mother bearing with her Antony's young children, she paraded through the military quarters, demanding justice for her husband. Jealousies were thus sown between the soldiers of Octavius and his absent colleague. The life of the former was often exposed to danger. Lucius Antonius, in quality of consul, made great levies through Italy. The troops devoted to Antony in the different divisions of Gaul and Spain, under Pollio and Plancus, Canidius and Ventidius, were put in motion; and, at the prospect of a new civil war ready to break out between the triumvirs themselves (Lepidus condescending to act in abject dependency on Octavius who was present), the republican party in Italy began once more to revive; while the communities and districts whose lands had been occupied, or which were on the point of being wrested from them, uttered complaints mixed with threats. They arraigned the injustice and cruelty of driving them from their possessions: "if their fields were to be usurped, compensation ought at least to be made to them in money; lands throughout all Italy, not districts partially selected, should be assigned to the veterans: each proprietor should yield his fair proportion, or all landholders be compelled to cast lots, and submit to the equal decision of fortune." To vindicate these just claims, many crowded to Rome, demanding support for themselves and families; others had boldness to repel by force those who sought to divest them of their paternal acres; the labours of husbandry ceased; and to accumulate the public distress, many parts of the western coast were ravaged by Sextus Pompeius from Sicily, and of the eastern by Domitius Ænobarbus, still cruising in the Hadriatic. By such means, the vast populousness of Rome was deprived of the necessa-

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XXIX. value: many streets were totally deserted⁶⁶.

War of Pe-
rusia.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4
—clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 41—
40.

Meanwhile a war of the fiercest nature raged in Perusia in Tuscany, a strong city in the very center of Italy. Octavius was compelled to take the field against the consul Lucius Antonius, while his lieutenant Agrippa opposed the armies on the side of Gaul, expected to join that magistrate. Ventidius and other generals commanding those armies, suspecting, however, that the measures of Lucius were not altogether conformable to the will of his brother Marcus, made little haste to bring assistance to the former. Lucius, therefore, at the head of six legions, threw himself into Perusia. Octavius besieged the place, repelled many bold sallies, blocked it up on all sides, and finally reduced it to famine. In the struggle between himself and the representatives of his absent colleague, the greater part of the soldiery indeed adhered to him, but many noble and wealthy Romans had embraced the opposite party; and above four hundred persons, of senatorian or equestrian rank, had thrown themselves with the consul into Perusia. They had discerned the resolute ambition of Octavius, and thought that usurped power might be more easily wrested from the unsteady hands of the Antonies, or that such men might be better inclined to resign it.

Its strange
and horrid
termina-
tion.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

The famine in the garrison had come to the utmost extremity⁶⁷, and the multitude of dead bodies threatened to occasion a pestilence, when Lucius, attended only by two lictors, proceeded towards the camp of the besiegers. Upon intelligence of his approach, Octavius hastened beyond the rampart to meet him. Their conference was private, but the substance of it is preserved in one of those extracts which have come down to us from the commentaries of Octavius⁶⁸, under his higher name of Augustus. Lucius began by observing, that if he had fought in a bad cause, or against an ignoble enemy,

⁶⁶ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 359.
et seq.

⁶⁷ Velleius, l. ii. c. 74.

⁶⁸ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v
c. 45.

he should have withdrawn himself by a voluntary death from the humiliation of a surrender. But he had taken arms for the sake of Rome and of his hereditary dignity against a patrician not less illustriously descended than himself, who could boast Hercules for his progenitor⁶⁹. Neither the anger of Fulvia nor the intrigues of Manius, nor the complaints of families divested of their landed property, had instigated him to the unfortunate contest, in which he was foiled, not through want of valour or perseverance, but by famine only. "I wish," he said, "to be clearly understood; it would be now vain to dissemble. My purpose was not to defeat the claims of the veterans: I myself have established many of those deserving men in the districts assigned them. Neither was it my ambition to defeat you, Cæsar! that I might succeed to your power. My sole object was to illustrate my consulship by destroying the tyranny of the triumvirate; by restoring the hereditary aristocracy of Rome, the jurisdiction of legal magistrates, and the authority of the senate. Into a concurrence with this measure, I doubted not to be able to persuade my brother; and therefore used freely against himself, the whole weight of his name and of his power. My adherents are guiltless of any such design: on me let the whole weight of your resentment fall." Octavius replied, "My resentment is disarmed by this voluntary surrender, for I have now to consider not what my enemies might justly suffer, but what it will be most graceful for me to do: the latter consideration preponderates, on account of the gods, myself, and you Lucius! that you may not be disappointed in the expectations formed of my clemency⁷⁰." The army of Octavius interceded for that of Lucius, which joined the standard of the conqueror. But the magistrates of Perusia, together with the Roman senators that had been shut up with them in that city, being regarded as peculiarly hostile to the cause of Octavius and the veterans, were committed to strict custody; and on

⁶⁹ Conf. Plutarch. in Antonio.⁷⁰ Appian. *ibid.*

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the following ides of March, upwards of three hundred of them were, by an act of horrid superstition, sacrificed to the manes of Julius Cæsar ⁷¹. It had been intended to gratify the soldiers with the spoils of the place, which had made such a fierce and almost frantic resistance; but Perusia was set on fire by the desperate rage of its own citizens, and intirely destroyed: the temple of Vulcan alone escaped the fury of the flames ⁷².

Octavius
master of
the West,
with the
exception
of Sicily
and Vene-
tia.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

The events of this short war of Perusia crushed the hopes of Antony's partisans in Italy, the seat of empire; and in the great provinces of the West, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Several commanders attached to him were deserted by their armies, some armies were deserted by their generals. Part fled to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily; the far greater crossed the Hadriatic into Greece. The former route was pursued by Julia, the aged mother of Antony; the latter by his wife Fulvia. In this general trepidation of those dependent on him, his cause, however, was still supported by Asinius Pollio, who collected a considerable force in the district of Venetia. Amidst the marshes of that remote corner, Pollio bade defiance to Octavius; and greatly benefited Antony's affairs by procuring for him an alliance with Ænobarbus, still commanding a great fleet in the Hadriatic⁷³. With the exception of Venetia and Sicily, Octavius was acknowledged in the West; throughout which division of the empire he commanded armies, levied contributions, appointed or superseded all magistrates or generals. The vanity of Lucius Antony was flattered with a nominal command in Spain, and detached from the cause of his brother by this empty honour; for he was supplied with five lieutenants, who controlled all his measures, and vigilantly observed all his actions⁷⁴. About the same time, some bodies of men of doubtful fidelity, amounting collectively to seven legions, were sent under

⁷¹ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. et Sueton. in August. c. 15.

⁷² Dion, *ibid.* p. 565.

⁷³ Dion Cassius, Appian, Velleius, l. ii. c. 76.

⁷⁴ Appian, l. v. c. 54.

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Lepidus into Africa⁷⁵. In this quarter, their defection would be unimportant in the struggle which must soon take place between the rival triumvirs. XXIX.

Before intelligence of these distressing events reached Antony, he was withdrawn from his idle pleasures in Alexandria, by disasters more deeply affecting that neighbourhood. Orodes, king of Parthia, had learned from Palmyrenean merchants, the cruelties exercised by the triumvirs over all nations on their side the Euphrates⁷⁶. But Orodes was determined to an invasion of the Roman provinces in Asia, chiefly by the representations of Labienus, son to a general of that name, who had served under Cæsar during his wars in Gaul, but who had deserted him in the civil war⁷⁷. The son, animated by equal love for the republic, had been sent by Brutus and Cassius to treat for assistance from the Parthians; and after the defeat of his friends at the battle of Philippi, still continued to reside at the court of Orodes, with whom he had obtained much credit as a counsellor⁷⁸. Labienus informed his master of the Perusian war in Italy, of the discontents, amounting almost to rebellion, in the eastern provinces of Rome, of the scandalous and careless life led by Antony in Alexandria; on all which considerations, he recommended the present as the fittest time for retorting the injuries of the Romans by the invasion of Syria and Lesser Asia. The proposition was acceptable to Orodes, and still more to his son Pacorus, the appointed heir to the crown, a prince generous and brave, and who from his earliest youth, had been at once the pride of the king, and the darling of the people⁷⁹. Clouds of Parthian cavalry began to move westward; Labienus and Pacorus were their generals. An irruption so powerful and unexpected was not to be resisted in Syria. Many of the soldiers in that province having served under Brutus and Cassius, joined Labienus, the now victorious

Parthian invasion of the eastern provinces. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

⁷⁵ Ibid. c. 53.

⁷⁶ Appian. *Histor. Parthic. Conf. de Bell. Civil.* l. v. c. 9.

⁷⁷ Plutarch. in *Cæsar* & in *Pompeio*.

peio.

⁷⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 37. Florus, l. iv. c. 9.

⁷⁹ Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404.

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riend of those patriots. Saxa bearing authority from Antony, slew himself. The Parthians made many captives, ravaged the open country, plundered treasuries or temples. From the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean they diffused their ravages to the western shore of Lesser Asia. Caria, in the farthest corner of that peninsula, paid dearly for its resistance by the sack of Mylassa and Alabanda. Stratonicea, in the same district, was defended by the strength of its walls; as Tyre in Phœnicia had been, by its insular situation: for the Parthians wanted ships, and were unprepared for sieges; strong cities and islands afforded, therefore, a refuge to the Romans, and the unhappy provincials who adhered to them, or rather, who dreaded subjection to still more relentless conquerors⁸⁰.

Civil war prevented by Antony's marriage with Octavia. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

Antony was informed, almost at the same time, of his ruined interest in Italy, and of the devastation of that part of the empire which he had chosen for his peculiar province. With a fleet of 200 sail, belonging to himself or Cleopatra, he proceeded with all haste to Tyre. The recovery of Syria and Lesser Asia, he found, must be a work of considerable difficulty. He determined to postpone the undertaking, especially as he received at Tyre most lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. He sailed to meet her in Athens, and is said to have reprimanded her severely, as well as her coadjutor Manius, for embroiling his affairs in Italy. Fulvia was capable of any enormity, but her proud heart could not brook reproach. She retired in bad health to Sicyon, and died there soon afterwards⁸¹. Antony, meanwhile, reinforced by part of his troops from Greece and Macedon, met his new ally, Ænobarbus, in the Hadriatic. Sextus Pompey also sent to him his mother Julia from Sicily; and was earnest to gain his friendship, that they might unite their arms against Octavius. But as no declared breach had yet taken place

⁸⁰ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 373.
Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

⁸¹ Plutarch in Antony.

between Antony and his colleague in the triumvirate; he declined any formal alliance against him. He thanked Pompey, however, for the proposal; and for the kindness he had shown to his parent. Octavius was equally guarded: he prepared to defend Brundisium and other seaports, not against Antony, but against Ænobarbus. This demonstration of jealousy was construed, however, into equal hostility to both. Antony made descents on the coast, and having occupied several places of less strength, laid siege to Brundisium: all the rage of civil war was thus likely to be again rekindled, when the flames were suppressed by the cautious coldness of the soldiers on both sides. From the license in which they were indulged, and the flatteries with which they were courted, the Roman legionaries had discovered the secret of their own importance; they had learned to reason and to calculate: Octavius had the stronger army; Antony was the better general; the secure benefits of peace outbalanced the hope of augmenting them on either side by the chance of victory. The death of Fulvia, which became known at this time in Italy, seemed an event highly favourable to a reconciliation between the triumvirs. Fulvia had been the main promoter of dissension; but as one woman had occasioned disunion in the empire, there was another well qualified to restore concord. This was Octavius' sister, recently a widow by the death of her husband Marcellus, a woman of exquisite beauty, endowed with every shining accomplishment, yet admired for her severer virtues as the pattern of Roman matrons. By the marriage of Octavia, Antony sealed his accommodation with her brother. According to their contract, Lepidus was left in possession of Africa. The western provinces of Europe were to remain under the jurisdiction of Octavius: Antony was to govern all the countries eastward⁸¹ from the Illyrian city Scodra, a place well known to the readers of this history.

⁸¹ Dion, Appian, & Plutarch in Anton.

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Naval power of Pompey—
alarmingly distressing to the triumvirs.
Olymp. clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

The Parthians and Sextus Pompey formed now the only dangerous enemies to the empire. As the Parthians, in their irruptions on this side of the Euphrates, had in view rather depredation than conquest, it was expected that the hurricane having spent its force, the effects of it might easily be repaired. Levies, however, being made for the Parthian war, were, until Antony should return to the East, committed to his lieutenant Ventidius, a man well qualified, as we shall see, to employ them to the best advantage. The ravages of Sextus Pompey were matters of nearer concern, and deeply affected every part of Italy, but most of all the capital. Pompey commanded above 300 galleys. His squadrons were of the boldest description, manned chiefly by Greeks, and under skilful commanders of that nation; Menas, Menecrates, Demochares, and Apollophanes. In addition to Sicily, he had possessed himself of Sardinia and Corsica, islands in that age of much importance, especially the former, on account of its abundant crops of corn, which made it one of the principal granaries of Rome. He had occupied the small islands near Italy; he had seized fastnesses in that country; the whole coast was subject to his ravages; commerce was intirely at a stand; and Rome always dependent on foreign supplies, suffered extreme scarcity of bread⁸².

They make peace with him on his own terms.
Olymp. clxxxv. 2.
B. C. 39.

Under these circumstances the triumvirs turned all their thoughts to the suppression of Pompey. Their cavalry could have trampled him down; the tenth part of their legions was fit to overwhelm him; but they wanted power to cope with him at sea, to assail his strongholds, or even to approach them. To provide instruments for such a war, heavy taxes were imposed on the score of shipmoney. The Romans, scarcely able to purchase bread, murmured against these new burthens. In the games of the Circus, the pageant of Neptune, with his controlling trident, reminded them of the na-

⁸² Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 375. et seq.
15. & seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p.

val ascendancy of Pompey; who had assumed that emblem of maritime sway, and thrown aside the imperial purple to clothe himself in a seagreen vestment. The spirit of sedition spread from the citizens to the soldiers. The statues of Octavius and Antony were thrown down; even their lives were in danger: and, as mutinies in their respective armies had recently reconciled the triumvirs with each other, a general insurrection of the people now produced the reconciliation of both with Pompey. Shortly before this time, Pompey, as we have seen, had done good offices to Antony; and Octavius, fearful that these might terminate in an alliance between them to his own prejudice, had concerted with Mæcenas the means of defeating such a project. For this purpose he sent back Clodia, whom he had betrothed, the daughter of Antony's wife, by her first husband Clodius, and married Scribonia, sister of Scribonius Libo, father-in-law to Pompey, thereby creating suspicions between his rivals, and conciliating Pompey to himself. In conformity with the public will, and with minds not altogether hostile, the three chiefs met on the coast of Campania, and held repeated conferences at Puteoli and Misenum; the triumvirs, attended by their respective legions, and Pompey by his fleet. At the last of these meetings, all differences were done away. Pompey, in addition to the territories which he held, was to obtain possession of Achaia, a name then comprehending the greater part of Greece; the exiles under his protection were to regain their country, and the fourth part of their forfeited property. In return, he promised to restore freedom to navigation, and to supply Rome with corn. In making this arrangement, the parties met on a platform erected on piles in the sea, and communicating on one hand with the shore, and on the other with Pompey's galley. The news of a final adjustment was received with acclamations from a vast crowd of spectators, who rejoiced in the restoration of public tranquillity, and warmly sympathized with the embraces of those friends, who being ranged on opposite sides in the civil war, had long been de-

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barred from the sight of each other. The chiefs mutually exchanged invitations to celebrate the feast of peace; ~~they~~ agreed to decide by lot which of them should give the first entertainment. Fortune favoured Pompey; who, at receiving his guests on board, said briskly, this ship is now my *Carinæ*, alluding to his father's house⁸³ in Rome, actually the property of Antony. Before the entertainment closed, Menas above mentioned, as the boldest of Pompey's captains, whispered in his ear, let me cut the cable, and your rivals are no more. Pompey replied, "this might have been done without consulting me, but my faith must remain sacred, I cannot violate hospitality⁸⁴."

Peace in
the West—
Ventidius
defeats the
Parthians
Olymp.
cxxxv. 2.
B. C. 39.

After the adjustment of some lesser matters, particularly Pompey's share in the nomination of consuls and other magistrates, long become merely titular honours, that chief now at once the admiral and purveyor of the commonwealth, sailed towards Sicily; while Octavius and Antony returned to Rome, where, united by the conciliating virtues of Octavia, they conducted public affairs with great harmony. During upwards of twelve months spent in this manner by the triumvirs, there were petty wars among the valleys of the Pyrenees, and in Dalmatia; and Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant, delivered the eastern provinces from the Parthians. Flushed with their past success, the invading cavalry ventured to fight twice on unfavourable ground, first among the ridges of Taurus that overhang Cilicia, and next at the Syrian gates. They were defeated on both occasions with great slaughter; and the Parthian retreats being as sudden as their attacks, Pacorus hastened across the Euphrates with the remains of his discomfited army: Labienus, his coadjutor, was made prisoner, and perished obscurely in the hands of the enemy⁸⁵.

⁸³ It stood in a street of Rome called *Carinæ*. Varro, de ling. Lat. l. iv. c. 8. Horace 1 Epist. vii. v. 48.

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius ubi supra. Plutarch. in Anton.

⁸⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 380. & seq.

Antony meanwhile crossed the Hadriatic to govern in person that division of the empire peculiarly belonging to him. He was accompanied by Octavia to Athens, where he received the news of Ventidius' victories. Such intelligence, at a place which had been the scene of former follies, and among a people so well calculated to encourage and heighten them, overset the lightness of his mind: he resumed his character of Bacchus, in which he again committed every extravagance: at the same time he levied contributions on Achaia; and, on the ground of arrears due to him, refused, before their intire liquidation, to surrender the province, as in compact bound to Pompey. This chief happened also to be set at variance with Octavius. The latter, before his twenty-fourth year, had in his matrimonial connexions been twice guided by interest. To cement his friendship with Antony, he had betrothed Clodia: to divert the hostility of Pompey, he had married Scribonia. But in his choice of a third partner of his bed (though Scribonia had borne to him a daughter named Julia, afterwards so famous for her gallantries and her misfortunes,) he was guided by inclination only. Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, and the wife of Tiberius Nero; both of them declared adversaries to the Cæsarian party, and the latter of whom had returned to Rome only in consequence of the indemnity recently granted to exiles. Livia had already borne her eldest son Tiberius, destined to empire, and was six months pregnant of his brother Drusus. With the consent of her husband, Octavius espoused Livia; and to make way for this connubial tie, which on his part lasted in kindness and confidence through life, repudiated Scribonia, the kinswoman of Pompey⁸⁶. Besides this cause of disgust, the compact between these chiefs was ill observed on either side: Sicilian cruisers still retained lurking places on the coast of Italy: the foreign traffic of Rome, particularly the importation of corn, was still subject to interruptions; some pirates who were taken denounced Pompey as their

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Antony's
follies—
animosities
between
Octavius
and Pom-
pey.
Olymp.
olxxxv. 8.
B. C. 38.

⁸⁶ Sueton. in August. c. 62. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 10.

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abettor; and the revolt of Menas brought growing animosities to a crisis. This man probably judged his master unfit for empire, from the time that he was hindered by him from cutting the cable, and making Antony and Octavius his prisoners. Whatever might be his motive, whether this or some new displeasure, or merely the capricious perfidy of his nature, he certainly brought over to Octavius the island of Sardinia and a fleet of sixty galleys⁸⁷. His enormity could not be extenuated; but restitution was demanded in vain, though no end had been formally put to the late compact. Ever since that transaction Octavius had strenuously exerted himself for the increase of his force by sea as well as land. The accession brought to his fleet by Menas, seemed to put him in a situation to invade and conquer Sicily.

War of
three years
between
them.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 3—
cxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 38.—
36.

In this manner a war, chiefly naval, was kindled and carried on three years with many vicissitudes of fortune. In the course of it Menas twice revolted, once to Pompey and again back to Octavius. The first object of the triumvir was to bring round to Rhegium, or the Straits of Messina, his squadrons that had been equipped in the harbours of Tuscany and Magna Græcia. Pompey's army bore no proportion to his own. The only difficulty was to land on the island. This required many transports, and the protection of numerous galleys. In the attempt to assemble a sufficient force at Rhegium, various actions were fought, in which Pompey and his Greek captains generally prevailed, notwithstanding the defection of Menas, who signalized his skill and prowess on the side of the enemy. The losses sustained by Octavius, both in the battle and by shipwreck, required the labour of more than a twelvemonth to repair. Many thousands of slaves were manumitted, and carefully trained to the labour of the oar; and as much inconvenience had arisen from the want of a secure retreat for ships on the coast of Campania, Agrippa, who delighted in works at once magnificent

⁸⁷ Dion, Appian, Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

and useful, formed the Julian harbour, by uniting the bay of Baia with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, thus converted into secure basins⁸⁸. At the same time Antony, whose assistance had been repeatedly craved by his colleague, landed at Brundisium, and having received two legions for his Parthian expedition, of the ill success of which we shall speak hereafter, reinforced Octavius' fleet with an hundred galleys. Lepidus also, still a nominal sharer in the triumvirate, was required to cooperate in the warfare; and obeyed the more willingly, because Pompey's cruisers had recently infested his government, the Roman province of Africa. It was determined, therefore, that Sicily should be invaded at once on its three sides: on the shore nearest Africa by Lepidus; on the eastern coast by Statilius Taurus; and on the northern by Agrippa. The last named commander gained a seafight near Mylæ, where the tide of success was completely turned against Pompey, and thirty of his ships were destroyed. Lepidus made a descent in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum: Octavius attended in person the landing of part of his forces on the shore of Taurominium. Through the movements which followed, Pompey was driven towards Messina, at the northern corner of the island. In this neighbourhood his whole force was assembled, except a detachment under Plennius, which had ineffectually guarded the coast of Lilybæum against Lepidus.

Being in danger from an enemy far superior by land, Pompey challenged Octavius to a seafight. The challenge was accepted, it is said, through shame, though the battle was fought on both sides by proxies; Agrippa on that of Octavius, Demochares on that of Pompey. The scene appointed for the combat was the bay of Naulochus, between the promontory of Phalacrum and that of Mylæ. Six hundred galleys engaged; the two admirals were equally zealous, but they were very differently seconded by the captains serving under them; and the battle is chiefly memorable for the very

Seafight in
the bay of
Naulochus.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 36.

⁸⁸ Dion Cassius, Appian. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxxiii.

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inefficacious resistance on the part of a fleet which had long rode the seas in triumph. Agrippa lost only three ships; whereas the whole of Pompey's galleys, except only seventeen that fled towards Messina in the beginning of the action, were stranded, sunk, burnt, or captured⁸⁹. The seafight was beheld from the hostile encampments near Naulochus. Pompey escaped from that place, without leaving orders for his army, and hastened to Messina, where embarking in a vessel provided for him, he sailed to Mitylenè in Lesbos, an island much indebted, as we have seen, to his father. He had himself resided in it in his youth; and from thence, twelve years before this period, had been carried after the battle of Pharsalia, to witness, as above mentioned, his father's cruel murder at sea, near the coast of Pelusium.

Octavius
sole master
in the
West.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 36.

Pompey's forces in Naulochus being in haste to surrender on terms, Plennius' detachment came too late from Lilybæum to be included in the capitulation. Plennius therefore threw himself for safety, with seven legions, into Messina. Agrippa, with part of his fleet, occupied the harbour; Lepidus was at hand with the whole army which he had brought from Africa; Octavius was necessarily detained at Naulochus. Under these circumstances, Lepidus, notwithstanding remonstrances from Agrippa, who desired him to wait Octavius' arrival, received the submissions of Plennius, and thus incorporated that general's legions with his own. The great military force, of which he saw himself the master, inspired Lepidus, long the most obsequious of men, with a sudden fit of ambition⁹⁰. He insisted that Sicily should be annexed to his own province of Africa, as both united were nothing more than an equivalent for Spain, which had been unfairly withheld from him. In urging such a pretension, Lepidus reckoned on the affections of his troops, which he had endeavoured to secure by allowing them to plunder Messina. His error was fatal to him. Armies were

⁸⁹ Appian. Dion, Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

⁹⁰ Velleius, l. ii. c. 80. Sueton. in August. c. 16.

now become deliberative bodies, they calculated remote consequences, and upon a fair comparison of the rivals, sent a deputation to Octavius, begging to know whether Lepidus should be made prisoner, or immediately put to death. Octavius only deposed the unhappy man from his authority⁹¹, and allowed him to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards in an obscurity suiting the mediocrity of his talents, after holding nominally a third share, for the space of seven years, in the dominion of the Roman world. Statilius Taurus was sent to replace him in Africa. Through the degradation of this contemptible colleague, Octavius became all powerful in the western part of the empire: besides his victorious fleet, amounting to 800 ships of war, he was at the head of 37,000 lightarmed troops, 25,000 horse, and forty-five legions. Success, both by sea and land, sanctioned all his measures; and, at his return to Rome, he chose or rejected at pleasure among the innumerable honours that were offered to him⁹².

⁹¹ Appian. l. v. c. 124. et seq. fin.
 Dion, l. xlix. p. 398. et seq. Senec. ⁹² Appian. Dion, Sueton. Oros.
 Nat. Quæstion. l. iv. in Prefat. vers. ubi supra.

CHAPTER XXX.

Successes of Antony's lieutenants. Extinction of the Asmonæan Dynasty. Antony's upstart Kings. Tragic Events in Parthia. Antony's Parthian Expedition. Projects and Death of Sextus Pompey. Octavius' able management. His Military Expeditions. Antony's Invasion of Armenia. His extravagant Proceedings. Battle of Actium. General Submission to Octavius. He invades Egypt. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Confirmed Dominion of Augustus. Reflections on the Ruin of the Greek kingdoms. And Greek Commonwealths in their Neighbourhood.

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Follies
of Antony
—his lieu-
tenant
Ventidius
defeats the
Parthians,
Olymp.
cixxy. 2.
B. C. 39.

DURING Octavius' war of three years with Sextus Pompey, Antony had been kept on good terms with his colleague, through the winning virtues of Octavia, sister to the one triumvir, and wife to the other. The greater part of this time he had spent in Athens, never revisiting Alexandria, the scene of former follies. He delighted in the amusements and license of great cities, and the better to enjoy them would divest himself of imperial ensigns and cumbersome attendance, but again relapse capriciously into the most extravagant ostentation; assume the character of Bacchus, and, under the protection of that disguise, give free scope to the wildest suggestions of pride, anger, or voluptuousness¹. In such a mad career he was enabled to indulge, without totally ruining his affairs, through the conspicuous successes of his lieutenants. Ventidius, in particular, after repelling the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, set himself to repair the effects of their invasion; but before his work was complete, and he had either fortified weakness or conciliated disaffection,

¹ Plutarch in Anton.

he was threatened with a new and more formidable irruption, again headed by Pacorus. To obtain time for mustering his forces and for inspiring confidence into the provincials, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Pretending to fear lest the Parthians, instead of passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, where the country was hilly and unfavourable to their cavalry, should descend the eastern bank of the river, and pour their resistless squadrons into the opposite plain, he was careful to intimate this apprehension to Channan, a man of authority in Syria, and who, he well knew, secretly corresponded with the enemy. Channan apprised the Parthians of what Ventidius affected to fear, and which, accordingly, was what they determined to carry into execution. The delay, occasioned by a long circuitous march, and the construction of a new bridge over a far broader part of the river, afforded time for assembling the flower of the legions and of their auxiliaries in the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, the most warlike in the province. The Parthians crossed the Euphrates unopposed; advanced without meeting an antagonist; and emboldened by the apparent reluctance of the Romans to encounter them, entered the Cyrrhistic region in full confidence of victory. But Pacorus, at the head of his cataphracts having ventured to attack Ventidius' encampment, was slain in a sudden irruption of the Romans, as efficacious as it was unexpected. A fierce combat ensued around the dead body of the royal general. The Parthians were defeated with great slaughter; those of them who fled towards their newly constructed bridge, were intercepted, and put to the sword: a remnant of their mighty host found refuge with Antiochus of Commagene in his strong capital Samosata². While Ventidius marched thither to demand the fugitives as his slaves, the head of Pacorus was carried in solemn procession round the cities of Syria and Lesser Asia. This was not done through ostentation merely.

² Conf. Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404. et seq. Appian, l. v. c. 65. et seq. Eutropius, Orosius.

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On the western side of the Euphrates, Pacorus enjoyed the praise of justice and clemency, not less than of valour; by the most certain evidence of his death, it seemed necessary to destroy any hopes which the disaffected to Rome might yet entertain from the protection of his virtues³.

Antony in
the East—
Samosata
ransomed.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3.
B. C. 38.

Antony, having received accounts at Athens of the first successes of Ventidius, hastily left that city to eclipse the glory of his exploits. Before he landed in Asia, he learned the death of Pacorus; and soon afterwards being informed that Ventidius had laid siege to Samosata, he despatched orders that no capitulation should be granted, until he appeared in person before the place. He arrived; surveyed the strength of Samosata: the besiegers were ill pleased at being checked in their operations; they were offended by the mean jealousy which Antony showed of his lieutenant; and the triumvir being eager to revisit Athens and Octavia, with whose beauty he was at this time captivated, entered into a hasty composition with Antiöchus, and allowed him to ransom his capital for 300 talents. The soldiers affirmed, that Ventidius had been offered a thousand; any complaints, however, on the part of that general, were prevented by his immediate dismissal to Rome, to enjoy the honours of a triumph. He had slain Pacorus, on the 9th of June, the anniversary of the Vestalia, precisely fourteen years after the defeat of Crassus, and he triumphed at the distance of half a century from his first entrance into Rome among other captives attending the car of Pompeius Strabo, at the conclusion of the Marsic war⁴.

Extinction
of the As-
monæan
dynasty in
Palæstine.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 4.
B. C. 37.

While Antony resumed his wild amusements at Athens, his lieutenants continued successful in many parts of the empire. They quelled insurrections among the Illyrians and Thracians, nations always ready for rebellion; they rivalled the victories of the Great Pompey in Iberia and Albania; and Sosius having succeeded to Ventidius in the government of Syria and Cilicia, completed in those provinces the

³ Dion, *ibid*.

H. l. vii. c. 43. Aulus Gellius, l. xi

⁴ Conf. Dion. *ubi supra*. Plin. N. c. 4.

work of his predecessor, and cleared them of Parthian partisans⁵. Of these partisans the most considerable had been Antigonus, king of the Jews, a title abolished, as we have seen, by Pompey, but which Antony had revived in favour of Herod, a man related to the royal line only by marriage, and the son of Antipas, an Idumæan, of whose merits with Julius Cæsar we have before made mention⁶. Upon the last total defeat of the Parthians, Antigonus whom they had lately reinstated in his birthright, made an obstinate resistance in Jerusalem, followed by a most abject submission. At the instigation of Herod, he was executed like the vilest malefactor, by the rods and ax of a Roman lictor⁷. In this unhappy prince ended the illustrious Asmonæan dynasty, after subsisting 129 years, if dated from the command assumed by Judas Maccabæus; and 126 years, if dated from the peace granted to the Jews as an independent nation by Antiochus Eupator⁸.

About this time other nominal kingdoms were erected, for Antony was lavish of the royal title, through a capricious generosity to the instruments of his rapacity, or of his pleasures. Thus Amyntas, who had been a clerk in the service of Dejotarus, was declared king of Galatia; and Archelaus became king of Cappadocia, through the credit of his mother Glaphyrè, a noted courtesan; while Darius, a reputed descendant of Mithridates, and Polemon, the son of a Greek rhetorician of Laodicea, were adorned with the same magnificent appellation, and respectively set over Pontus and Cilicia⁹: they were the most expert and merciless collectors that the rapacious triumvir could employ.

Having committed the affairs of Asia to his lieutenants and tributary kings, Antony sailed from Greece into Italy, and sealed his last friendly transaction with Octavius, by lending

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Antony's
upstart
kings.

Tragic
events in
Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3, 4.
B. C. 38.
37.

⁵ Dion, l. xlix. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 27. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

⁸ Josephus Antiq. l. xix. c. 28.

⁶ See above, c. xxviii.

⁹ Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Dion.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. & de l. xlix. p. 411.

him, as we have seen, a powerful fleet to be employed against Sextus Pompey and Sicily. In the course of this visit to the seat of empire, intelligence from Syria required his presence in that country. Orodes, king of Parthia, had been supplanted by his son Phrahaes, a fierce and crafty tyrant. The circumstances were deemed peculiarly tragical, even in the barbarous court of Parthia. Orodes, in the extremity of old age, had shown himself inconsolable¹⁰ for the loss of his son Pacorus, whom he had long destined for his successor, and by whom chiefly he had administered the government. His grief first appeared in a lethargic insensibility to every object around him; and when he roused from his stupor, it was only to invoke the name of his beloved Pacorus, to address the dumb phantom ever present to his fancy, and then melt into tears of unutterable anguish. The interests of the crown required, however, that some one among his remaining sons should be named to wear it. He had thirty of them by different women, of whom those born to him by females of the house of Seleucus, seemed from their maternal splendour the best entitled to empire. Careless in his present state of mind, of examining into nicer pretensions, he raised his eldest son to the throne, under the name of Phrahaes IV. This tyrant quickly sacrificed his brothers to his resentment, and his aged father to his impatience of reproach. Even a son of his own, because on the verge of manhood, was the victim of his jealousy. He determined that none of the royal line should live, on whose head the Surena might presume to place the diadem. It should seem that this high office was then held by Monæses. He is called the chief of the Parthian nobles; and having fled with many persons of high quality into Syria, Phrahaes spared no pains to procure his return¹¹. The kings of Parthia were held lawful only when crowned by the Surena, and their government was always more firm when sanctioned by the concurrence of that magistrate.

¹⁰ Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. ¹¹ Plutarch in Anton. Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 406

Antony having left in Rome Octavia, who had already borne to him two daughters, and was now in an advanced state of pregnancy, hastened to the field of glory which called him, purposing, amidst the distractions in Parthia, to execute his long meditated revenge. But with his congenial inconsistency, he had sent before him his elegant¹² friend Fonteius Capito, to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Her meeting with Antony gratified strong passions on both sides: the lover had the person of his mistress, and the mistress had the grant of new territories in Syria and Cilicia, in Crete and Cyrenè. Herod was in danger of losing by her his newly acquired kingdom; he yielded a part, and ransomed the remainder by large sums of money. In idle dalliance with Cleopatra, Antony consumed the most precious of all possessions, time. The Parthians had leisure to assume a posture of defence; and Monæses, foreseeing nothing but ruin under so imprudent a leader, at length accepted the conditions of reconciliation offered him by Phraates. Antony permitted his return, and even sent ambassadors along with him, hoping to deceive Phraates by the proposal of a treaty. Meanwhile, with an army of 80,000 foot, and nearly 20,000 horse, he prepared to pass the Euphrates; but found the left bank of that river strongly guarded. His unseasonable delay in Syria had enabled the enemy to take this precaution; and Antony being as eager to return to Cleopatra as he had reluctantly parted from her, hastened to achieve some splendid enterprise. Phraates headed his forces in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, accompanied by the hereditary satrap, or king of the Lesser Media. This satrapy, well known to the reader of the present history, contained an important stronghold, called Praaspa, situate three hundred miles beyond the

¹² Ad unguem factus homo.

Horace.

¹³ The Araxes was considered as the boundary between Armenia and this Lesser Media, otherwise called Media Atrapatena. Antony's

Parthian expedition is strangely perplexed in our Roman histories, the latest of which confound the Lesser Armenia with the Greater, and the Greater Armenia with Media. -

Araxes¹³, an hundred miles south of the Caspian sea, and nearly as many due west from the Caspian Gates. If Antony should surprise Praaspa, furnished with a treasury, with magazines and arsenals, he would not only possess himself of a prize most valuable in itself, but attain a favourable situation for invading, next campaign, the southern or Greater Media, the largest and finest province in the Parthian empire. Towards carrying into execution this design ¹⁴, he reckoned on the zealous cooperation of Artuases, king of Armenia, the old and hereditary ally of the Romans, and then actually at variance with the king of the northern or Lesser Media, who happened to bear the same name with himself. Antony accordingly proceeded by forced marches into Armenia. The king promised him, besides other assistance, a reinforcement of 16,000 cavalry. Thus assured, he hastened through Armenia, crossed the Araxes into northern Media, and in the hope of gaining Praaspa by surprise, left his heavy engines to follow under Oppius Statianus.

He be-
sieges Pra-
aspa.

But rapidity formed the characteristic of Parthian warfare. Phraates had come in force into northern Media. Statianus, with his escort of two legions, were surrounded, attacked, and intirely cut off. Upon the first alarm of their danger, Antony returned with a detachment to support them, leaving his main army before Praaspa. He found the field strewn with their dead bodies; no enemy was in sight: nor had the king of Armenia advanced with his promised reinforcement. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Antony persisted in his design of making himself master of Praaspa, and having assaulted it without success, began the siege in form, and persevered with obstinacy in the undertaking, until his foragers had exhausted all the neighbouring country. When reduced to the necessity of spreading themselves widely in search of food, they were surprised and many of them cut to pieces by the Parthians. Antony sent out stronger parties: on one occasion he came to a sort

¹⁴ Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 407. et seq.

of general engagement with the enemy, and drove them apparently into such complete rout as flattered him with the belief of an important and decisive victory. But, on examining the result of the action, he found only fourscore Parthians slain, and thirty made prisoners. This battle being fought at a considerable distance from Praaspa, the garrison made a vigorous sally, and produced great ruin among the works of the besiegers.

The increasing difficulty in point of supplies, especially as winter approached, made it necessary to think of a retreat. An embassy was sent to Phraates, who received it in the field, (for the imperial city Ecbatana was six days' journey from Praaspa,) seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bent bow. He reproached the Romans with great bitterness, but, provided they ceased from hostilities, intimated his permission for them to depart unmolested. This, however, was far from his intention. The siege was no sooner raised, and the march begun towards Armenia and the Araxes, than the Parthians were in motion to harass the legions in flank and rear, to obstruct every difficult passage, to remove all corn and cattle, and to destroy, as much as possible, every supply of fresh water. Under these distressing circumstances, the Romans pursued a march of twenty-seven days to the Araxes, at the rate of fourteen miles daily; during which time they fought eighteen battles with the enemy, and lost above the fourth part of their army. Upon arriving in Armenia, Antony thought fit to dissemble his resentment against Artuases, to whose want of cooperation he chiefly ascribed his disasters. He needed this king's good offices towards facilitating his return into Syria, which he immediately undertook, though the districts in Armenia, through which he had to pass, were then thickly covered with ice, and the cold was peculiarly destructive to his wounded soldiers. Eight thousand of them are said to have perished in this unseasonable and hasty march, at the end of which, Antony, after braving every fatigue, and danger, and disgrace, met

The siege raised—disastrous retreat of the Romans. Olymp. clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 36.

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Cleopatra, at a place called Leucecomè, on the coast of Phœnicia, and returned with her to Alexandria, to dissipate his uneasy reflections, amidst the show and riot of that voluptuous capital¹⁵.

Bold designs of
Sextus Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

How far this disastrous expedition had shaken his authority in Asia, appeared from an important transaction that almost immediately ensued. Sextus Pompey, after the battle of Naulochus, escaped, as we have seen, to Lesbos, an island with which he was connected in hereditary friendship. Momentous concerns, that will be explained presently, occupied Octavius, and prevented him from farther molesting a dispossessed and seemingly ruined adversary. But Pompey had carried with him considerable treasures from Sicily: he had been joined at Lesbos by the remnant of his discomfited fleet; with this he had been successful in his old trade of piracy: he had the merit of good offices with Antony; he had still the means of being useful to him; and, amidst the Parthian expedition, had sent to solicit that triumvir's friendship, and to promise a hearty cooperation in all his views. But, upon learning the complete miscarriage of Antony at Praaspa, and his disastrous retreat into Syria, Pompey conceived loftier projects. The name of his father still sounded high in that and the neighbouring provinces. Many Romans, settled in the East, owed their establishment to the conqueror of Mithridates. The soldiers, who had served under that conqueror, viewed with partial favour the last remnant of his family; a family still dear to the Roman people. Actuated by such considerations, and stimulated by the natural audacity of his character, Pompey increased his shipping, hired troops, and, instead of becoming an auxiliary to Antony, embraced measures for supplanting his power. The design was carried on with the craftiness of a corsair mingled with the arts of a politician, who had long stood at the head of a party. Pompey's agents were busy among the Parthians, the most formidable enemies to Rome; among the Armenians, whose king had recently

¹⁵ Plutarch. in Anton. Dion Cassius ubi supra.

betrayed the interests of the triumvir; among the Thracians and Illyrians, nations ever turbulent and disaffected. Notwithstanding all this, he continued to negotiate with Antony, and endeavoured even to dispel his alarms, after the emissaries had been seized and detected whom he had clandestinely sent to the Parthians. During these proceedings, the slave of Cleopatra still lingered in Alexandria, dissolved in sloth and pleasure. Titius, however, one of his lieutenants, was at length sent from that city, to make head against Pompey. He conducted for this purpose a great fleet from Egypt, and had orders to reinforce the soldiers serving on board it from the legions in Syria. Pompey, by this time, had collected his squadrons in the narrow seas, and had made himself master of the harbours of Lampsacus on the Hellespont, and Nicomedia on the Propontis. He had penetrated with three legions into the inland parts of Bithynia, and gained its ancient capital Nícea, on the lake Ascanius. Furnius, proconsul in the neighbouring province of Pergamus, had opposed him ineffectually, and suffered a considerable defeat. Thus victorious by land, Pompey flattered himself with still more brilliant success on the element which had so long been propitious to him.

But, from these high hopes, though his army had much augmented in consequence of his victory over Furnius, an unexpected occurrence precipitated him into one of those fits of despondency to which he had become subject through his many and cruel reverses of fortune. Titius had scarcely arrived in the Propontis with 120 sail, when he was joined in that sea by the fleet of nearly equal strength, which Antony, as formerly mentioned, had lent to Octavius. At sight of this combined armament, Pompey, in despair of combating it, set fire to his own ships. This frantic action caused the desertion of all his best friends, even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo. While they surrendered to the enemy, Pompey, with the forces which still adhered to him, purposed to fly into Armenia, but being intercepted on that side, directed his course to the seacoast, in hopes, it is said, of surprising

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Their failure—his death.
Olymp. clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

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XXX.Octavius'
able ma-
nagement.
Oliv. p.
clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

and burning Titius' fleet. He was pursued by that commander, by Furnius, and by Amyntas the newly made king of Galatia. Having fallen into the hands of this upstart, he was surrendered to Titius, and by him put to death at Miletus¹⁶.

During all this time, no open breach had taken place between Antony and his more prudent colleague. Octavius even dissembled at Rome the disasters in the Parthian war, and caused public rejoicings for the defeat and death of Sextius Pompeius¹⁷, whom he affected to represent as a very formidable enemy. By the expulsion of that chief from Sicily, and the deposition of Lepidus, he had obtained, in the preceding year, undivided sovereignty in the West. The main danger to his government arose from the difficulty of managing his own instruments, consisting, (besides a fleet of six hundred sail which from the humble pretensions of ancient seamen occasioned to him no trouble), of forty-five legions, with sixty thousand lightarmed troops or cavalry. This great military force, which, though many legions were incomplete, exceeded 250,000 men, had been raised on different occasions, and served under different generals, most fighting for usurped power, some in the cause of the republic. The troops themselves consisted of various nations; Italians, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans: they were persons also of various conditions; Roman citizens, provincials, freedmen, and innumerable slaves; for all sorts of recruits had been accepted in times of relentless civil war. Before leaving Sicily, Octavius dismissed, with donatives, from this body about 20,000 veterans, the boldest in their pretensions, and the most sensible of their power to dispose of the empire¹⁸. At his return into Italy, he purged the

¹⁶ Appian. l. v. c. 122. et seq. Dion, l. xlix. p. 402. et seq. In this transaction, Antony incurred much blame for his cruel orders, and Titius, for his forwardness in executing them, was, many years afterwards, obstructed in his design, of celebrating games in the theatre of

the great Pompey; and under the necessity of slinking in disgrace from a solemnity, of which he defrayed the whole expense. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 79.

¹⁷ Dion, l. xlix. p. 403.

¹⁸ Appian, Dion, Orosius:

army of another corrupt ingredient, if not the ablest to lead, yet the most likely to follow, in any scheme of sedition. The slaves serving in it were to be secured, and all such as were claimed, to be restored to their masters¹⁹. As slaves exercising arts and manufactures constituted, in ancient times, the most important description of personal property, this reform benefited, in another view, the great designs which Octavius entertained, and which, thenceforward, he prosecuted with incomparable ability. Through his influence with his uncle's army, he had trampled on liberty and property. He now began to express extraordinary zeal for both: to re-establish and support the distinctions of civil rank; to maintain the inexorable impartiality of law; and to cherish peaceful industry. Comparing the calm, enjoyed under his administration, with the tempests immediately preceding it, the servile adulation of the Romans was converted into heartfelt praise; and both in the capital, and over the whole country, his effigy was worshipped among other most revered idols of tutelary gods. No usurper, indeed, ever showed more dexterity than Octavius, before he had completed his 29th year, in conciliating the interests of the public with those of his personal ambition. By convening the senate and people, and complying with the forms, and even with the spirit, of a legal constitution in all matters of private justice, he raised up a majestic and marvellous machinery, fitted alike for attack or defence. Having conquered law by the sword, he now, by the bare image of law, controlled and overawed his army. To uphold this delicate fabric was his great subsequent employment, and the skill with which he performed it, constitutes the merit of a reign, next to that of Alexander, the most glorious in history. The army was cleared of those parts which had a tendency to contaminate or inflame it, but not materially lessened in point of strength. This could not be done with safety, either to the empire, or to him who

¹⁹ This business was executed and opened, all of them, on the same day. with much caution. Sealed orders were sent to the different legions,

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His milita-
ry expedi-
tions.
Olymp.
cxxxvi.
2, 3.
B. C. 35,
34.

now aspired to become its sole master; for if Octavius, when he assumed the name of Cæsar, was checked by many formidable obstructions in his hope of succeeding to Cæsar's power, the lofty undertaking was about this time brought clearly within his reach, through the follies and vices of Antony; his own increasing fame and now maturer age; the uniform success attending him, contrasted with the recent disasters of his colleague; above all, the happy choice of friends, by whom he was seconded with equal zeal and ability.

The struggle was likely indeed to be a rude one; and the young Cæsar was careful to prepare himself, by keeping on foot a great army, and finding for it perpetual employment. Wars were successively planned against the shores of Africa and of Britain; and the legions moved, for these purposes respectively, into Sicily and Gaul. On each occasion Octavius put himself at their head; but neither expedition took place, being alike interrupted by events on the side of Illyricum. As the honour of the state was concerned in maintaining old conquests, rather than in achieving new ones, Octavius twice made war on the rugged and fierce nations inhabiting between the Hadriatic gulph and the Danube. Near the eastern shore of that gulph, he fought with the Dalmatians and Liburnians. He penetrated northwards into the woods of the Savi and Pannoncs, who had infested, by bold incursions, the Illyrian dependencies of Rome. The stronghold of Siscia, situate at the conflux of the Save and the Culpæ, was defended by those barbarians both by land and water; and the river combats are memorable for the death of Menas, formerly admiral under Sextus Pompey, and who now signalized his skill and valour in a humbler warfare, but under a far worthier master. He fell in a battle against the enemy's boats on the Save. Throughout the whole of these expeditions, Octavius' courage was conspicuous. He received many wounds through the fearless exposure of his person; and his firmness showed itself convincingly in the obstinate contention with the Japydæ, the most stubborn people

FROM ALEXANDER TO AUGUSTUS.

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XXX.

in Liburnia. At the siege of their chief stronghold Metulum, he was thrown down with the batteries which he had erected; but though dreadfully bruised in the ruin, he quickly renewed the assault, and made such determined exertions to prevail, that notwithstanding the presence of Agrippa, a general of renown equal to his merit, the resoluteness of Octavius is said chiefly to have contributed towards the encouragement of his own men, and the intimidation of the enemy. The defenders of Metulum surrendered, and received a garrison; but repenting speedily of their surrender, they slew in the night the whole garrison which they had admitted. After this unpardonable enormity, they destroyed their wives and children, set fire to their houses, and perished by their own hands; not one single prisoner consoled the avarice of the victors²⁰.

Besides these Illyrian wars, which ended in most places by the reception of hostages, and the imposition of tribute, Octavius carried on others equally successful, by his lieutenants. About this time he received the submission (we know not through what general) of the Salassi or Savoyards, the hardiest mountaineers in the Alps; and shortly afterwards Crassus, son to the unfortunate triumvir of that name, triumphed over the Mæsiæ and Bastarnæ, powerful and fierce nations on the Danube.

But Octavius' success in arms was not to be his brightest glory. The fame of his policy far eclipsed his military achievements, whether in person or by his lieutenants. Upon his return into Italy, he was diligent in enacting equal laws and distributing impartial justice; and in the encouragement of every institution or usage which had a tendency to promote the wellbeing of the people, or increase their enjoyments. His views were ably seconded by Mæcenas, a man who never reached any higher condition than that of a Roman knight, in which he was born; and by Agrippa, who, though he had commanded and conquered as consul, submitted for

²⁰ Dion, Appian.

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the public benefit, to accept and exercise the far inferior functions of edile; to exhibit popular shows, to improve in size or conveniency the resorts for public amusements, to repair the old aqueducts, or erect new ones. The clearing of the common shores, which had been neglected during the civil wars, was numbered among the noblest of his labours²¹. These works of the minister redounded to the honour of the master. Octavius reserved for his own peculiar largess, the establishment of a great library. It bore the name of his sister Octavia, and was intended by him to perpetuate the remembrance of that excellent woman, whose virtues would have been admired in the best ages of the republic²².

Antony in-
rades Ar-
menia, and
makes cap-
tive king
Artuades.
Olymp.
elxxxvi. 3.
B. C. 34.

While Octavius and his coadjutors were acting like just and diligent stewards of the commonwealth, Antony displayed in the East all the mad extravagance of a despot. Polemon, the son of a rhetorician, and one of his upstart kings, being made prisoner in the war against Phraates the Parthian, and Artuades the Mede, had the address to recommend himself to the latter of these princes, and completely to gain his confidence. He returned to Antony in Alexandria; told him that the Mede had taken umbrage at the injustice of the Parthian, many of whose provinces were ripe for revolt; and that assistance of the offended Artuades would be ready in any future expedition against Phraates, or in chastising the Armenian Artuades, whose perfidy had been so fatally experienced in the late warfare. Pleased with this intelligence, Antony quitted his scenes of disgraceful riot, and having repaid the services of Polemon with the grant of Lesser Armenia (a strip of land on the right bank of the Euphrates) he hastened to Nicopolis in that district. At this city, he stood on the frontier of the kingdom which he came to conquer; and, to avoid the fatigues which might attend him in the invasion of so strong a country as Armenia, descended to the base duplicity of inviting its king to join him in Nicopolis, that they

²¹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

²² Dion. Conf. Plutarch. in Marcello.

might seal their mutual friendship by a marriage between the daughter of that prince and one of his own sons by Cleopatra. When the Armenian, who had entered into a secret correspondence with Octavius, and who knew how indignant the Romans were at Antony's devotion to the queen of Egypt, declined obeying a summons intended merely to insnare him, Antony invaded his country with a great army, advanced towards the capital, Artaxata, and by operating alternately on the hopes and fears of the king, gained possession of his person. With a whimsical kind of respect, he confined him in chains of gold; and in that state of captivity, carried him round the various castles and treasuries in Armenia, that he might exact contributions for his ransom. The commanders in many of these strongholds defended their walls with obstinacy; the Armenians flew to arms under Artaxias, a hereditary name, eldest son to Artuades: a fierce but short war ensued, in which Artaxias, being totally defeated, was compelled to fly into Parthia. Antony left his army in the kingdom which he had just conquered, and returned to enjoy a triumph in Alexandria, not inferior in magnificence to any ever celebrated in Rome. Artuades, with his wives and children, (for Artaxias alone escaped the victor's grasp,) were required to prostrate themselves in presence of Cleopatra. But the Armenian remembered that he was the son of Tigranes, the proudest king of the East; and scorned, for the sake of life, to prostitute his dignity. He and his whole family were condemned to close confinement, and destined to a future execution²³.

The wildness of Antony's proceedings, when made known at Rome, gave much concern to his friends, and filled with grief the dutiful though much injured Octavia. On the part of that admirable woman, the suggestions of personal pride were easily sacrificed to the quiet and safety of the empire. Having communicated the design to her brother, she determined to sail in quest of her husband, carrying with her,

His new designs on Parthia—
Octavia repulsed by him.
Olymp. clxxxvi. 4.
B. C. 33.

²³ Dion, l. xlix. p. 411. & p. 415. et seq.

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besides, other valued gifts, 2,000 pretorian guards, with which she meant to present him. Her letters from Athens found Antony in Syria, to which province she had proceeded early in the spring, that in concert with his ally Artuases the Mede, he might invade Parthia, again torn by a civil war. In return for her offered visit, Octavia was enjoined not to proceed farther, Antony being on his march against the Parthians. He also rejected her presents. Thus repulsed, she returned to Rome. Her brother desired that she would take up her abode there with himself; but she continued to live in the house of her husband, carefully watching over the education of his children by herself and by Fulvia; and serving by the utmost exertions of her interest such of his dependents as had favours to solicit in the capital; a conduct infinitely more hurtful to Antony with the public, than could have been all the just vehemence of reproach²⁴.

The Parthian expedition prevented through Cleopatra's artifices. Olymp. clxxxvi. 4. B. C. 33.

In the unworthy treatment of Octavia, his own capricious profligacy was exasperated by the artifices of Cleopatra, who had accompanied him into Syria. At the name of this virtuous wife, the royal harlot sickened. She was found often in tears, which she dried up hastily, as if anxious to conceal them. Startled at Antony's approach, she pined in languor at his departure: every semblance was put on of the deepest heartfelt love, and every contrivance was employed by her attendants to persuade the credulous voluptuary that his mistress' life was in danger. To prevent the threatened catastrophe, and dissipate the melancholy that might occasion it, the Parthian expedition was deferred; and the lovers returned to Alexandria, where Antony, in the character of the Grecian Bacchus, declared, in presence of a general assembly in the Gymnasium, his nuptials with the Egyptian Isis. A formal divorce was shortly afterwards sent to Octavia. Cleopatra, with Cæsarion, her son by Julius Cæsar, were invested with the kingdom of Egypt, to be enjoyed in the

Antony dismembers the empire in favour of Cleopatra

²⁴ Plutarch. in Anton.

utmost amplitude in which it had been held by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Of her sons born to himself, the elder Alexander, as destined to be king of Syria, appeared with the cloak and cap worn by the Seleucidæ; the younger Ptolemy, as destined to be king of Ariana or Parthia, was adorned by the Median robe and erect tiara, worn by the great kings of the East: for Antony affected not to entertain a doubt of his ability to subdue the Parthian empire, and to transmit that conquest to his posterity²⁵.

This solemnity, in which the dominions of Rome were dismembered in favour of a foreign queen and her adulterous progeny, completed the measure of Antony's insufferable outrages. The numerous friends, whom his long enjoyment of power still gave him in the capital, could not extenuate the enormity of his proceedings; they endeavoured to discredit or conceal them. Such was the mode of defence adopted by Ænobarbus and Sosius, then actually consuls, for Antony, as partner in the triumvirate, continued to exercise the right of conferring in turn all offices of magistracy. Sosius, not satisfied with denying the crimes charged on Antony, ventured to retaliate in accusations against Octavius: but the latter, having fixed a future day for proving the whole extent of his colleague's guilt before the senate, the consuls thought fit previously to quit Italy, and were followed by many adherents to the same desperate party. Shortly afterwards, Plancus, with his nephew Titius, escaped from Alexandria to Rome. Plancus, as we have seen, was one of Antony's earliest abettors; and Titius was the person recently employed by him, in the murder of Sextus Pompey. Both these men quitted the triumvir's service through disgust at his folly, and gave information of a most obnoxious transaction, which they had unitedly witnessed. This was Antony's testament, to which Plancus and Titius had affixed their names, and which, for the sake of security,

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XXX.
and her
progeny.

His offensive testament—he is deposed from the triumviral power, and war declared against Cleopatra. Olymp. clxxxvii. B. C. 32.

²⁵ Dion, p. 416. Conf. Plutarch. in Anton.

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had been sent to Rome, and deposited with the vestal virgins²⁶. Antony desired that, wherever he happened to die, his body should be interred in Egypt; and, in many other clauses appeared to have totally divested himself of the feelings of a Roman citizen. It was thought fit, therefore, that his nomination to the office of consul should be annulled; that he should be deposed from his triumviral power; and that war should be solemnly declared, not, indeed, against himself, but against his queen and sovereign Cleopatra, the mistress who had enthralled his soul, the sorceress who had infatuated his understanding²⁷.

Antony
plunders
Armenia,
particu-
larly the
district
Anaitis.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 1.
B. C. 32.

Octavius' grounds of quarrel with Antony were many and obvious. Antony complained in his turn, that Octavius had not sent back to him the whole number of ships that he had borrowed for his war against Sextus Pompey, and that he had not given him his share in the spoils, either of this conquered enemy, or of Lepidus their deposed colleague. But whatever secondary causes tended to inflame animosity, it appeared to actors and spectators through every part of the empire, that the original source of discord was the jealousy of ambition, and the necessity of deciding between the two sharers of the empire, which of them should be master of the whole²⁸. At the prospect of this inevitable warfare on the soil of Europe, Antony, as if he had intended to secure every thing behind him in Asia, moved into his recent conquest Armenia, and on the banks of the Araxes confirmed his alliance with Artuases the Mede, by resigning to him part of Armenia, and taking in marriage his daughter Jotapè for Alexander the elder of his own sons by Cleopatra²⁹. As many eastern provinces belonging to the Parthian empire

²⁶ This deed was fraught with clauses more obnoxious than the destinations made in the late solemnity at Alexandria. Octavius desired much to possess himself of the original, although the secrecy of a testament was inviolable until the death of the testator: the vestals refused to resign their sacred depo-

sit, intimating, however, to Cæsar, that he might come and take it. Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Sueton. in August.

²⁷ Dion, l. i. p. 421.

²⁸ Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion p. 419.

²⁹ Dion, p. 418.

were still in a state of insurrection, the contracting parties had purposed to avail themselves of this crisis for overwhelming the tyrant Phraates IV. But news of Octavius' preparations made Antony hasten westward, after he had exchanged part of his infantry for some squadrons of the excellent cavalry, in which Artuases abounded. In his march through Armenia into Syria, his chief care was to collect money. Though the former country had submitted so completely that part of it had been bestowed by him on his Median ally, it was subjected to cruel exactions throughout, and the district Anaitis, containing the principal seat of Armenian commerce and superstition³⁰, was a prey to military rapine. Even the golden statue of the goddess was broken in pieces, and its fragments tossed carelessly among the spoil³¹.

While he returned from the mountains of Armenia towards the Mediterranean coast, Antony sent orders to his lieutenants, and commanded the stipulated reinforcements from his tributary kings. Cleopatra needed not any summons. She met him in his progress into Lesser Asia, and undertook to assist him with 200 galleys, with 20,000 talents, and with corn to be conveyed by her transports for his whole army, wherever he might think fit to encamp. Accompanied by the queen of Egypt, he proceeded to Ephesus, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of his fleet: Canidius, the most favoured of his lieutenants, because the most subservient to the will of Cleopatra, was already in that neighbourhood at the head of sixteen legions³².

Meanwhile Octavius carried on his preparations judiciously and strenuously. The defeat of Sextus Pompey had raised his fleet to 500 stout galleys, which he equipped in the most perfect manner, especially careful to keep the rowers in perpetual exercise. His army, which had been swelled to 45 legions by the deposition of Lepidus, but which had been

³⁰ See above, vol. ii. p. 169.

Strabo. l. xii. p. 559.

³¹ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 4. Conf.

³² Plutarch. in Anton.

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purged, as we have seen, from corrupt parts that threatened to infect the whole, may be computed at 200,000 men; of which nearly one half might be transported across the Hadriatic. Great as this force appears, it fell considerably short of Antony's ³³; whose galleys, besides being more numerous, were of much superior rates, with five, seven, and ten tier of oars; and who had the means of still augmenting his fleet from a wider amplitude of populous coasts and seafaring cities. His legionary troops amounted to 100,000; and the contingents to be furnished by his tributaries and vassals, probably exceeded that number. But the greatest advantage on the side of the eastern potentate, for in that light the triumvir may be viewed, was his boundless resources in money; and the facilities for rendering them available, afforded by the arbitrary maxims that had long prevailed in his part of the empire. His immense riches sufficed for every demand of the service by sea and land, and enabled him to transport large sums into Italy, for disturbing the government of his rival: whereas the greatest danger experienced by that rival flowed from the necessity of imposing a new war tax: it consisted in a fourth part of the income of citizens by birth, and an eighth part of the property of freedmen worth 50,000 denarii, about 1,500*l*. ³⁴. Such were the discontents excited by this heavy impost, that Italy might have been invaded in a state of distraction, amounting almost to civil war, had the supine negligence of Antony allowed him to profit by the crisis ³⁵.

Antony's
extrava-
gant pro-
ceedings
in Samos
and Athens.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 1.
B. C. 32.

But from the moment that he was joined by Cleopatra, the approaching conflict with Octavius became a secondary concern. Legions and squadrons were indeed ordered to their respective destinations, but the master who was to employ them, fixed his voluptuous abode in the soft island of Samos, into which the new Bacchus, husband to the Egyptian Isis,

³³ Dion, l. l. p. 422.

³⁵ Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion

³⁴ A Denarius is equal to 7*p*. 3*f*. p. 424, 425.

collected only instruments of luxury and ministers of pleasure. While neighbouring coasts reechoed the jarring sounds of military and naval preparation, this serene island breathed only soft amorous murmurs, or the nicely cadenced harmony of artists in the service of Bacchus. Instead of reviews and exercises of soldiers, or manœuvres and races of galleys, Samos exhibited religious shows and processions, intermixed with dramatic entertainments, and such frolicsome pastimes as are adapted to places of the greatest idleness, and seasons of the most secure peace³⁶. To supply the perpetual feasts accompanying the sacrifices, the most distant provinces were charged to contribute whatever they respectively produced most rare and costly; a mandate, imitating the despotic arrangements of Assyrian and Persian kings, whose tribes of courtly menials were subsisted at a vast expense, by commodities transported to them from all parts of the empire³⁷. From Samos, Antony proceeded to Athens, where he only varied the form of his follies. In this city he had formerly resided with Octavia, who had received from the affections of the Athenians, those honours which every illustrious visitant derived from their flattery. But all preceding addresses of adulation were to be surpassed in the decrees presented to Cleopatra; of which her lover, in the character of an Athenian citizen, was the bearer.

From Athens, Antony was withdrawn by reports of hostile squadrons descried, it was said, near the isle of Corcyra. He sailed towards that island, but finding the alarm to have been occasioned by a few galleys sent out on observation, moved for the remainder of winter to the ancient Achæan city Patræ. Many of his ships had arrived in the neighbouring seaports of Peloponnesus. The legions under Canidius, reinforced by innumerable auxiliaries, had passed from Asia into Greece. As the season for naval operations approached, great part of the fleet and army assembled on the coast looking towards Italy, where the territories of Epirus

Antony's
fleet and
army as-
semble—
description
of the Am-
bracian
gulph.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 2.
B. C. 31.

³⁶ Plutarch. *ibid.*

³⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 167.

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and Acarnania are divided by the *Ambracian* gulph; a name derived from Ambracia, a very ancient free city, afterwards more renowned as the capital of king Pyrrhus³⁸. This gulph, as it proceeds from the Ionian sea to the city Anactorium, is scarcely half a mile broad: it then swells to a breadth of six miles: it again narrows at the temple Actium, also in Acarnania; and beyond Actium, expands to a breadth of ten miles, reaching thirty miles inland from the open sea, and twenty from Actium. The whole Ambracian gulph, therefore, consists of two bays, and two straits: the inner bay is separated from the outer by the strait near Actium, and the outer is separated from the Ionian sea by the strait near Anactorium³⁹. Antony's plan of the war is not to be easily explained: it seems to have been equally capricious with all the rest of his proceedings. His fleet was gradually assembled within the interior bay: a stout squadron anchored in the strait of Actium: his land forces, part of which was yet expected, encamped in Acarnania, on the shore immediately contiguous to the station of his fleet. His position was ill chosen in point of salubrity. The sides of the bay were marshy, and emitted pestilent vapours, by which both the fleet and army began to be great sufferers. Antony was seldom with either: he delayed to take the command in person, until the whole force should be collected: there was much relaxation in discipline: and the rowers in particular, a conflux from different nations generally pressed into the service, were indulged in the neglect of all healthy exercise, and thereby infected with every disease that indolence and profligacy can ingender.

Octavius
crosses the
Hadriatic
—his post
near the
enemy.

In this situation of the enemy, Octavius, whose fleets had been ordered to rendezvous at Brundusium and Tarentum, sent

³⁸ Polyb. l. xxii. c. 13. Conf. l. iv. c. 61.

³⁹ Thucydides, l. i. p. 37. Polyb. l. iv. c. 63. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Scylax. From inattention to local

circumstances the historians of this battle are very obscure in their accounts both of the action itself and of the movements preceding it.

Agrippa with some choice squadrons across the Hadriatic. This able commander made successful descents on the coasts of Peloponnesus; possessed himself of the convenient harbour of Methronè; and captured a large convoy of victuallers from Egypt and Syria, steering for the Ambracian gulph. Having shortly afterwards returned to his employer, it was determined that they should put to sea with their united armaments, to give battle to the enemy. They sailed with 260 nimble galleys, and the numerous transports requisite for the conveyance of 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and all that ingenious apparatus which the arts of civil life must supply for the service of war, when it is carried on with skill and energy. They arrived in the bay of Acroceraunus; and Octavius debarked on the same ground where his adoptive father had first landed, when he came to combat Pompey. The army marched southward, towards the Ambracian gulph: the fleet coasted in the same direction; and in its way took possession of Corcyra, just abandoned by the enemy. Having proceeded within fifteen miles of the strait of Anactorium, the squadrons first anchored in Glycys-limen⁴⁰, the sweet harbour, so named because its salt waters were freshened by boiling springs in the sea, and by the conflux of the rivers Acheron and Cocytus. But this station they soon quitted for one nearer the enemy, called the harbour of Comarus. This is a creek which verges towards the inner and wider bay, leaving an isthmus between them six miles broad. On this isthmus, Octavius encamped at a place afterwards called Nicopolis, directly opposite to Actium. The situation was dry and elevated, viewing on one hand the bays of Ambracia, and on the other, the open sea and the creek Comarus⁴¹. This creek, Octavius had leisure to join by fortifications with his camp, his infatuated adversary employing no means to prevent a very dangerous lodgment in his neighbourhood. To keep

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. vii. p. 324.

513. His information is chiefly derived from a map of the Ambracian gulph made by the Venetians.

⁴¹ Dion Cassius, l. l. p. 426. Conf. D'Anville Mem. de L'Academie des Inscriptions. &c. vol. xxxii. p.

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on the defensive seems to have been his sole object. His fleet commanded the strait of Actium: he had raised strongholds on both sides; and this strait, or rather the swelling inner bay behind it, was interposed between his camp and that of the enemy. In such situations both parties continued during the remainder of summer, the events which happened in the interval, being greatly unfavourable to Antony. The harbours, to which he trusted for supplies, were seized by Agrippa; his officers were defeated in partial encounters by sea and land: above all the desertion was most alarming among persons of the highest rank, whether Romans or auxiliaries.

Battle of
Actium 2d
Septem-
ber.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 2.
B.C. 31.

From these difficulties a battle only could extricate him. His best officers exhorted him to avoid fighting by sea; but Cleopatra, on the contrary, recommended this measure. She was impatient, it seems, to return to Alexandria; and Antony knew no pleasure equal to that of compliance with her will. He determined to accompany Cleopatra by the readiest way into Egypt, and to fight the enemy if his passage was obstructed: In this design, his fleet was equipped either for a battle or a voyage: sails not usually employed in the former were taken on board; his whole treasures were embarked; his galleys, of superior rates, were at the same time equipped with all those warlike engines which their commanding loftiness would enable them, it was hoped, to employ with decisive effect. In his armament of 500 sail, there was not any scarcity of engineers or marines: his only want was that of rowers: a resolution was therefore taken of burning a hundred and forty of the least serviceable ships. They were those belonging to Egypt, which reduced the squadron supplied by Cleopatra to sixty galleys. The commotion occasioned by this measure apprised Octavius that the enemy meant to quit his station. He therefore prepared for battle, and committed the command to Agrippa⁴²: under him, Livius led the right, and Arruncius the left

⁴² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 84.

wing. Antony also devolved the command on his lieutenants Publicola, Sosius, Justeius; Octavius sailed within the strait of Anactorium; but stormy weather and a high sea which set into the gulph, prevented Antony during four days from venturing through the strait of Actium. On the fifth morning, his fleet formed in that strait, and, before noon, began to clear it. Upon observing this movement, Agrippa expanded his front, in order to inclose the enemy; to avoid which danger, Publicola on his side also extended so widely, that his wing was intirely separated from the center. This movement brought other squadrons from the strait to support him, and the battle thus commenced in the outer bay about noon with equal spirit, but with great diversity in the mode of engagement. On the part of Octavius the vessels being nimble, and manned with able rowers, could exert the whole of their impetuous weight in wounding the enemy's sides, and sweeping away his oars. The loftier ships of Antony endeavoured to break the force of the assailants with long poles, or to seize them with grappling irons, in which case they were knocked in pieces with hatchets, or overwhelmed with showers of javelins. In this manner the combat raged for two hours, when Cleopatra, who had viewed it from behind the line, darted through the midst of the combatants, and with crowded sail made all haste to escape from the bay into the open seas. Her vessel, being known by its purple sails and gilded poop⁴³, was followed by the sixty Egyptian galleys, to which she made signals for this purpose. Antony, also, followed her, and though his departure was known to both sides, the battle still continued with emulation, the combatants at sea being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies on shore, that of Antony commanded by Publius Canidius, that of Octavius by Statilius Taurus. The strength and iron defences of Antony's quinqueremes and vessels of still higher rate, had blunted or broken the prows

⁴³ Florus l. iv. c. 11.

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of the Liburnians and triremes, by which they were assailed. Octavius, though fire might have been employed successfully against such large unwieldy vessels, delayed to avail himself of this expedient, because he was unwilling to lose the treasures and valuable effects aboard the hostile fleet. He thought fit, however, at length to have recourse to ignited weapons, and live coals darted from his machines; and by this means the action concluded with the destruction or capture of 300 ships, and 18,000 of the enemy killed or wounded⁴⁴. To secure the fruits of victory, Octavius remained all night on board.

General
submission
of armies
and king-
doms to
Octavius.

The battle of Actium⁴⁵ was fought on the second day of September, a day which historians particularize, because it was usual to date from it the years of Octavius' reign⁴⁶. Antony's flight abandoned to him nineteen legions left under Canidius. For seven days, indeed, these legions rejected the terms offered them, during which time they received no message from Antony: their patience was put to a severe trial: orders at length arrived that they should march towards Macedon and Thrace, and thence pass into Asia: part of them remained in their camp; the greater number sorrowfully followed Canidius, who, upon hearing that those in the camp had made their peace with Octavius, escaped secretly from a growing defection, in which he must have been an accomplice, or to which he must have fallen a victim. His deserted army accepted the liberal conditions at first offered to it: a part reinforced the conqueror; the veterans, whose years of service had expired, were sent home to their rewards in Italy. The allies, or rather subjects of Antony, his lieutenants commanding in various provinces, and his tributary kings were all alike forward to make their submissions to a far worthier master. Egypt alone offered a doubtful retreat to the vanquished triumvir,

⁴⁴ Orosius, l. vi. c. 19. Conf. Dion. et Plutarch. in Anton.

⁴⁵ The place is still called Azio, and the temple of Apollo is replaced

by a church dedicated to the Panhagia; the Virgin Mary.

⁴⁶ Dion, l. li. p. 442.

for beyond the limits of that kingdom not a partisan remained to him in any part of the empire, except a company of gladiators, who had been long in training at Cyzicus, to celebrate, by their bloody sports, his expected triumph. These men, whom the correctness or softness of modern manners classes with the worst of ruffians, maintained their allegiance with a high point of honour, and forced their way from the shore of the Propontis into Syria, where they were deceived by false promises, divided, and murdered ⁴⁷.

Octavius' victory was used with great mildness towards both Romans and provincials. Three of the kings created by Antony, he allowed to reign; Herod of Judæa ⁴⁸, Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Amyntas of Galatia ⁴⁹. One of his first cares was to alleviate the scarcity, and to remove the oppressions, which afflicted Greece and neighbouring countries, recently occupied by the armies of his adversary, and a sport to their rapacity and cruelty. He resolved, indeed, to pursue Antony and Cleopatra, and to make conquest of Egypt, wonderfully enriched at the expense of neighbouring countries, by a woman alike insatiable in all her passions, and who had long trampled under foot the eastern and wealthiest division of the empire ⁵⁰. But his haste to attain this great object did not betray him into the imprudence of his adoptive father, whose rash invasion of Egypt had nearly destroyed his life and his renown. The scenes which Octavius had experienced in the West, taught him that his greatest danger proceeded from the instruments of his victories. Agrippa had been sent into Italy, who, while Mæcenæ carried on the civil government, might repress undue pretensions in the troops, and control those fiery spirits always liable on success to blaze into mutiny. But this delicate task required the hand of the master himself; and the skill with which Octavius,

His able
manage-
ment after
victory.

⁴⁷ Dion, l. li. p. 447.

⁴⁸ Josephus Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 2.

⁴⁹ Dion, l. li. p. 447.

⁵⁰ "Antony spoiled even the

richest temples to gratify Cleopatra: the ornaments which he had lavished on this Egyptian harlot, Augustus restored to the gods" Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595.

CHAP. now in his 36th year, performed it⁵¹, sealed the supreme
XXX. dominion which he thenceforward enjoyed in the world for the space of forty-four years.

Antony excluded from Cyrenè and Parætonium. A war of little difficulty remained for him in Egypt, the inhabitants of that country showing no inclination to fight for the tyranny of Cleopatra; and Cleopatra being, on every occasion, ready to betray Antony. That infatuated man having followed the queen, was received on board her flying galley; and some pity is excited for him, when we are told that for three days he rested on the prow, his face covered with the palms of his hands, in the deepest anguish. By this time he was joined by some ships of burthen, which brought news that his army remained unbroken, and firm in allegiance. The intelligence roused him from his stupor: he sent the orders which we have above mentioned to his troops; and, after an easy reconcilment with Cleopatra through the interposition of her female attendants, he separated from her to sail towards Cyrenè, which he had committed to the government of Pinarius, and allowed the queen to return in all the lying pomp of victory to Alexandria, lest the truth, if made known to her subjects, should cause her exclusion from that harbour. The artifice of Cleopatra succeeded; but Antony's hope in Pinarius was disappointed. That governor refused all connexion with him, and shortly afterwards surrendered the Pentapolis, with four legions, to Cornelius Gallus, whom Octavius, while he prepared for invading Egypt on the side of Pelusium, sent to take possession of its rich western dependency. Excluded from Cyrenè, Antony joined Cleopatra in Alexandria, from whence he sailed to Parætonium, to secure that principal Egyptian stronghold on the side of the Pentapolis. But Gallus, with Pinarius' legions, had anticipated his design; and when Antony, in hopes of causing defection among troops who had formerly worn his name on their shields, rashly ventured into the harbour, most of his ships were burnt or sunk, after being

⁵¹ Dion, Sucton. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 42.

grappled by a chain under water, skilfully prepared for this purpose⁵².

Meanwhile Octavius advanced on the side of Pelusium. Both Antony and Cleopatra plied him with abject embassies; Antony sent to him in bonds Turullius, a Roman senator, and one of Cæsar's murderers. Cleopatra sent him a crown and sceptre⁵³, and gave orders to Seleucus, her governor in Pelusium, to open the gates of that strong city⁵⁴. These late submissions could be productive of nothing but contempt, those who made them having contracted guilt too deep to be forgiven. Antony was now a prey to all the agitations and contrarieties incident to the fiercest minds under the most tormenting circumstances. At times, he shut himself up in his Timonium, a tower which he so named from Timon, the notorious hater of human kind: returning again from this solitude, he would relapse into his usual intemperance, and endeavour to forget his cares in wild revelry. In a fit of this latter kind, he invested with the manly gown Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Cæsar; that he might thus leave behind him a dangerous rival to Octavius. Cæsarion paid the forfeit of this idle provocation, as well as Antyllus, Antony's elder son by Fulvia, who had been joined with that illfated youth in the same untimely ceremony. Antony's other children survived him; and three⁵⁵ of his descendents by Octavia, were raised to the empire.

At the approach of Cæsar to Pelusium, Antony sallied with his horse from Alexandria, and defeated an advanced party of the invaders, fatigued with their long march. Transported at the return of good fortune, with which he had long been unacquainted, he hastened back to the palace, embraced Cleopatra in armour, and presented to her one of his horsemen who had most distinguished himself in the engagement. This

CHAP.
X.

Antony mean-
while sub-
missions
and unsea-
sonable
provoca-
tions.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 8.
B. C. 30.

Proceed-
ings of Cle-
opatra—
her treach-
ery to An-
tony.

⁵² Dion, p. 448, 449.

⁵³ Dion, p. 447.

⁵⁴ Plutarch. in Anton.

⁵⁵ Caligula, Claudius, and Nero.
Plutarch. in Anton. et Sueton. in
Cæsare.

CHAP. X. horseman deserted that same evening to the enemy⁵⁶.

Amidst the terrors of approaching invasion, the chief care of Cleopatra had been to save the royal treasury accumulated by her depredations at home and abroad. For this purpose, she at first intended to embark with her riches on the Red Sea, and to form an establishment in some remote part of the eastern world, beyond the reach of the Roman arms. But the vessels which in this view she transported across the Isthmus of Suez, were burned by the Nabathæan Arabs, at the instigation of Didius, now Octavius' governor in Syria⁵⁷. The next anxiety of Cleopatra had been to make her peace with the conqueror, who, on his part, was solicitous to possess himself of her treasures to content his soldiers, and of her person to adorn his triumph. To secure both, he had flattered her with hopes of forgiveness. By this time she had provided a mausoleum, adjacent to the royal palace. It was a tower of great solidity, and the entrance so contrived, that when shut within, it could not by any ordinary means be opened from without. The upper part of it was yet unfinished. Into this sepulchral monument she had deposited her treasures, purposing to follow, if necessary, in person. To obtain pardon from the conqueror, there was not any treachery that she was unwilling to practise against his adversary, who had lost the world for her sake. Antony had got ready his fleet and army for a new battle. The fleet, by Cleopatra's orders⁵⁸, struck; the cavalry deserted; and the infantry, being defeated, fled with trepidation into the city.

His death. Cleopatra, with two women and a eunuch, now shut herself up in the mausoleum, causing a report to be sent to Antony that she was dead. He rushed forth, desiring a slave retained for that purpose to kill him; the slave plunged the dagger into his own breast. Antony then stabbed himself. The uproar occasioned by this catastrophe, brought Cleopatra to the top of her mausoleum. The sight

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Anton.

⁵⁷ Dion Cassius, p. 447.

⁵⁸ Dion, p. 449.

of the queen, believed to be dead, excited new commotion. CHAP.
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Antony turned up his longing eyes towards the sepulchral monument, into which, while he bled to death, he was hoisted by the machinery at hand for raising the materials necessary to complete the edifice. Cleopatra, in whose arms he expired, caused the event with all speed to be communicated to Octavius; but remained in the mausoleum until she should receive farther assurances of safety.

Octavius sent to her Proculeius a Roman knight, and Epaphroditus a freedman, who while they yet talked of terms, Octavius
visits Cleopatra. contrived, by a mixture of force and persuasion, to make her remove with them into the palace. There, she was treated as a queen; had her apartments and her attendants; and speedily received a message that Octavius was coming to visit her. She expected this honour, and was accordingly well prepared for it. She was clothed in mourning, the dress which most became her: her chamber was adorned with busts and figures of Julius Cæsar: she was surrounded by his papers and memorials, and held a bundle of letters from him in her hand. At the approach of his son, she rose blushing, accosted him as lord and master, "titles which the gods," she said, "had taken from herself; yet Cæsar had declared her queen of Egypt, and thought nothing too lofty for her, as the letters which she tendered bore proof." She then threw herself before the images of Cæsar, and expressed her fond adorations in those accents and attitudes which displayed to the best advantage the charms of her voice and person. "Alas! what are Cæsar's letters to me! Why did I survive Cæsar!" Again, she would chide her sorrow: "Why do I lament the father who revives in you, his son!" All her arts and allurements were thrown away on Octavius, who only exhorted her to be of good courage. She continued to be treated respectfully, was allowed to pay the customary honours to the remains of Antony; but being apprised of the design of carrying her in a few days to Rome, contrived to withdraw herself from the shame of appearing as a captive in that city where she had

CHAP. formerly domineered with such imperious haughtiness⁵⁹.
 XXX. Epaphroditus, who had been employed to watch her, was dismissed with a letter, which she feigned of great importance, to Cæsar, but which only expressed her exultation at the defeat of his relentless purpose⁶⁰.

Her death. Meanwhile the queen destroyed herself with the assistance of her women, Eiros and Charmion. A wound in her arm was the only violence that appeared on her person, leaving it doubtful whether she died from the bite of an asp, or the puncture of a poisoned instrument⁶¹. Her pride accompanied her to the last. She reposed on a couch of state, was royally attired, and her head encircled with the diadem. Eiros lay dead before her couch: Charmion was ready to expire, but seeing the diadem ready to drop from her mistress' head, made an effort to fasten it⁶².

Octavius' arrangements in Egypt. Olymp. clxxxvii. 3. B. C. 30.

By the ruin of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavius was master, without any capitulation, of Alexandria and all Egypt. He entered the marketplace, accompanied by Areius, a Platonic philosopher, and a native of Alexandria, with whom he had long lived in confidential friendship. The citizens were addressed in a Greek oration, removing all apprehensions with regard to the safety of their persons, which, by the laws of war, lay at the disposal of the conqueror, but intimating that they must compensate for this forbearance by large sacrifices of property. Two thirds of their fortunes were demanded; and this enormous exaction should seem to have extended to the wealthy classes all over Egypt: for soon after the reduction of that country, the price of lands doubled at Rome, and the interest of money was reduced to a third of its former rate⁶³. Both changes, however, must have been owing, in part, to the greater security of all kinds of property, after an end had been put to the civil war, and indeed to all those dangerous wars which threatened either the head of the

⁵⁹ See above, c. xxix.

⁶⁰ Dion, p. 450. et seq. Conf. Plutarch. in Anton.

⁶¹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

⁶² Id. *ibid*.

⁶³ Dion, p. 459.

empire or any of its essential members. An object of the utmost importance to the conqueror was the facility with which the riches of Egypt enabled him to gratify his legions. This resource he determined to retain intirely in his own hands, for which purpose he appointed a prefect amenable only to himself, and chosen not from the senatorian, but the more humble equestrian order⁶⁴. The first prefect was Cornelius Gallus: he commanded about 18,000 men, who were distributed in cohorts on the frontiers, and in the principal strongholds of the country. The civil government, particularly the concerns of the revenue, belonged to intendants and judges, accountable to Octavius only: his freedmen, indeed, were intrusted with affairs of the greatest importance, as well as of the most trivial nature⁶⁵. To the contemptible Ptolemy Auletes, Egypt paid annually in money⁶⁶ 12,500 talents: this sum greatly augmented under the vigilant government of Octavius. The annual contributions in corn amounted to 20 millions of Roman modii⁶⁷ sufficient for the supply of Rome during four months⁶⁸.

The short war against Antony, thus, not only gave to Octavius a new division of the empire, but made him more absolute than formerly at Rome. His eastern acquisitions are not to be estimated by the present deplorable condition of those countries. The extinction of enemies enabled him to diminish his army; but when his military establishment may be computed at 250,000 men, and his revenues at 20 millions sterling, the countries east of the Hadriatic defrayed half the subsistence of the one, and paid more than half the amount of the other⁶⁹. The East, also, exclusively supplied learning and science, arts and elegance; so that the capital of the em-

Confirmed
dominion
of Augustus.

⁶⁴ Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 797. Arrian de Exped. Alexand. l. iii. c. 5. Dion, p. 455.

⁶⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798.

⁶⁶ Strabo, ibid. The sum is equivalent to 2,421,875*l*.

⁶⁷ 625,000 quarters: almost the precise number consumed annually

in London.

⁶⁸ Publius Victor. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. ii. 10.

⁶⁹ Conf. Dion Cassius, l. iv. p. 564. Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 5. & Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. i. 4.

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pire, long before its translation to Constantinople, was completely converted into a Greek city. But the provinces of the East and West were alike governed by the sword. They had not any public force, nor any constitutional freedom, and felt not the influence of any principle either of reason or custom operating in behalf of the subject. They had been the property of the republic; and now, with the republic itself, became the property of a master. In this manner, flourishing commonwealths and once powerful kingdoms passed under the sole dominion of Octavius Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, a title, expressive of every thing at once good and great; mighty in power or sacred in character⁶⁹.

Its effects.

Four centuries of imperial despotism succeeded, during which, both the victors and vanquished gradually ceased to act from the impulse of their own minds, and thereby totally lost all elevation and energy. Beyond the Euphrates, the Parthians, indeed, defied the Roman arms: towards the Danube, the limits of Roman dominion could be adjusted with the Thracians and Illyrians only by the sword and pilum. In the country between the Rhine and the West, the destruction of Varus and his three legions taught Augustus that the former of these rivers was the safer boundary⁷⁰; his expeditions conducted by Ælius Gallus, and Petronius⁷¹ to Arabia and Ethiopia above Egypt, proved so unprofitable or so disastrous, that no conquest on that side was ever afterwards attempted. But in the countries of the East and West, which we have seen successively reduced into provinces, though there happened occasional insurrections, there were no longer any formidable wars: and even these insurrections were excited, not by the hope of emancipation, but by the intolerable smart of suffering. Four years before the death of Augustus, Bato the Dalmatian, when asked why he had rebelled against Rome, replied boldly and truly; “you Ro-

⁶⁹ The title of Augustus was conferred four years after the battle of Actium by the senate and people, ὡς καὶ πλεον τι η κασα ανθρωπας ων, &c. Dion, l. liii. p. 507.

⁷⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 61. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 117.

⁷¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 780. & seq. Conf. Dion, l. liii. p. 516, et l. lix p. 524.

mans affect to treat all nations as your flocks and as your property, but you intrust the care of them to ravenous wolves, CHAP. XXX. not to shepherds and their dogs⁷²."

Augustus, however, was the father of Rome, meaning Glory of his reign. thereby the capital of the Roman empire. He expended to the amount of eleven millions sterling in embellishing that city, which, having found it of brick, he bequeathed to his successors of marble: its citizens were gratified to the full in their passion for public shows; and 200,000 of them were supported by gratuitous distributions of corn. Recommended by such indulgences, an usurper, who ruled by the sword, kept only three cohorts, not 2,000 men, in his capital⁷³; and the merits of this politic and peaceful reign were emblazoned by the fine writers whom the prince and his minister Mæcenas alike cherished. These writers descended to them from the tumultuary civil wars, when the principles wound up in the republic had not yet spent their force; for a government absolute and military was not calculated to promote their growth, or even to perpetuate their succession⁷⁴. This inevitable degeneration was accelerated by the unworthiness of the immediately following emperors, through whose tyranny, the more liberal portion of their subjects, being deprived of all independence and dignity, became careless of those motives, and blunt to those feelings most propitious to high attainments in arts and letters; and essential as it should seem, to compositions stamped with excellence as works either of refined taste, or of original genius.

The reduction of Egypt into a province, 302 years after His vassal kingdoms—and nominally free cities. its conquest by Alexander, completed the long series of triumphs gained over Greeks in all divisions of the world.

⁷² Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 570. The barbarous Dacians and then despised Britons were afterwards added to the catalogue of Roman provincials. The empire, however, was not benefited by extension beyond the Danube: and its greatest vigour in point both of arts and arms coincided with the reign of Augustus. But the illustration of this topic be-

longs not to my present subject.

⁷³ Neque tamen unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus, easque sine castris. Sueton. Cæsar. Octav. c. 49.

⁷⁴ Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri, pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 1.

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Through the interposition, as we have seen, of the Parthians, by whom the eastern portion of the Macedonian empire had been subdued, the legions, however, were intercepted⁷⁴ in their progress to India, a country abounding in productions not only of peculiar value, but, in pagan times, of indispensable use. Had the maxims of the Romans been more favourable to commerce, they would therefore have wanted power to repair those links of communication, to restore those temples, factories, and emporia, through which the central regions of Asia had been improved and adorned by Alexander. Their national pride still further disqualified them from reviving his liberal institutions and impartial laws, and thereby introducing among the nations of Asia, together with an easy intercourse in commerce, a reciprocity in sentiment and affection, a community of rights and interests⁷⁵. A policy chiefly military was their highest boast; and conformably with its dictates, after they had degraded into provinces Macedon, Pergamus, Cyrenè, Syria, and Egypt, they still permitted tributary kings to reign in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bosphorus, Judæa, and Mauritania. These vassal kingdoms appeared to them fit appendages to their warlike greatness; outposts, as it were, and feelers on the side of distant and

⁷⁴ The Romans did not always respect the Euphrates, their boundary with the Parthians. Trajan, An. Dom. 106. overran many countries east of that river; and his historians vainly boasted that he was approaching the confines of India. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 113. Conf. Xiphilin. in Trajan. But the eastern conquests of Trajan were prudently resigned by his successor Hadrian in the first year of his reign, A. D. 117. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 114. Half a century after this resignation, the war with the Parthians was renewed, A. D. 162. in the reign of the admired M. Antoninus; and ended, A. D. 165. with the sack of Seleucia, and the treacherous murder of 400,000 persons belong-

ing to that Greek colony. Conf. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 116. Jul. Capitolin. p. 151. Dion, l. lxxi. p. 802. How different was Alexander's treatment of the Babylonians! See above, vol. i. p. 193, &c.

⁷⁵ See in Dion, p. 455. Augustus' harsh, and to Egyptians impious, answer concerning the god Apis. Yet, in sound policy, Augustus was not equalled, surely not surpassed, by any of his successors. The oppression of the provinces in the century after him is keenly arraigned by Juvenal, (Satyr. viii. v. 90. et seq.)

Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis, &c.

and confirmed by the evidence of all contemporary history.

dangerous frontiers; but all of them, as well as the 500 Greek republics on the coast of Asia, many of which were also flattered with the name of independence⁷⁶, alike unconditionally obeyed the stern mandates of Rome⁷⁷.

The present work having continued and completed my ^{Causes of the extinction of the Greek kingdoms.} "History of Ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests," will naturally lead the reader to contrast the wretched misery of the Greeks under the Roman yoke, with the happiness and dignity which they might have secured through better management; in other words, by a strict adherence to their primary institutions⁷⁸. Many of their kingdoms enjoyed inestimable advantages in point of situation and of climate: they were disciplined by laws, adorned by arts, and well fortified by arms. But into the heart of states, externally specious and blooming, the contagion of Asiatic manners introduced weakness and rottenness. Limitations to royal power were abolished; and kings being acknowledged absolute, and deemed sacred, while even the restraint of acting by responsible ministers was unknown, the condition of the people was left to depend on the personal character of the sovereign. But how little, either of wisdom or of valour, could be expected from princes moulded in the haram, and whose tender years, as in all countries where polygamy prevails, had been intrusted to emasculated slaves, or to women without estimation? Accordingly, of the only European dynasty that ever bore sway throughout the central regions of Asia, the whole spirit evaporated in the course of little more than a century, and precisely at that crisis when it was most endangered by the power of the Romans in the West, and that of the Parthians in the East. Careless of these formidable enemies, the unworthy

⁷⁶ *Αυτονομία*, Cicero adopts the word, but shows how improper it was in the mouth of a Roman, when he says to his brother Quintus, proconsul in Asia, "in istis urbibus cum summo imperio ac potestate versaris," and again, "in eos quos tux fidei, &c Senatus populusque Romanus commisit." Conf. Sallust

Bell. Catilin. c. 10. & c. 12. For the tyranny exercised over Greek cities, see Cicero ad Attic. l. vi. Epist. 1.

⁷⁷ *Ἄντιπαρθεσίου της Ασίας πόλεις: ινα προσκυνήσι ηγεμόνα. και τας υπατικές γαβδης* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

⁷⁸ See above, vol. ii. p. 148.

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heirs to the bold Macedonian captains, while they continued to build baths and theatres, suffered their fortresses and arsenals to moulder in decay; and instead of training their subjects to arms after the example of Alexander, chose to confide solely in mercenaries maintained at extravagant expense and indulged in the wildest disorders, because knowing their own odiousness to their people, they feared lest passion disciplined into valour, might prove more dangerous to domestic oppressors than to foreign enemies. Polluted by incestuous marriages, torn by family dissensions, distracted by parricidal murders, abominated by the public, while treated as superior beings by their courtiers, they perished just victims to all the vices that tyranny, envenomed by flattery, can ingender.

State of the
Greek
common-
wealths in
their
neighbour-
hood.

Amidst the last and vilest abasement of the Greek kingdoms, some cities or republics in their neighbourhood still exhibited examples of patriotism and of manhood. Occasions occur on which these cities afforded the promise of such firmness in federal union, as might have secured their own independence, and thereby have gradually diffused their liberality and ingenuity among surrounding nations. That this never took place, cannot be ascribed to ignorance or inexperience with regard to representative government, of which we have seen conspicuous examples among the Amphictyons, the Ionians, the Lycians, the Sicilians, and the Achæans; not to mention that the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which communicated its laws to the Greek colonies in Africa, employed delegates of delegates; that is a double representation. It may be thought that the prospect of such a confederacy was blasted, rather through the want of ready communication, and the difficulty of giving seasonable impulses to the public mind on critical and important emergencies⁷⁸. We have shown, however, in the preceding history, how

⁷⁸ The destruction of Greek confederacies has been ascribed to their want of representative government and of printing, their want of posts and resident ambassadors, &c. &c. but the greatest of all their wants was a strange defect in point

of probity; a certain measure, at least, of which, and of the other three cardinal virtues being essential to the safety of communities and individuals. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 1.

correspondence was carried on by a symbolic character among the Pythagoreans, and maintained among innumerable temples and emporiums in the three divisions of the ancient world. What advantages, in a political point of view, might have been derived from this and other expedients, particularly signals by fire and telegraphs⁷⁹, which were well understood in Greece and more eastern countries, it is not easy to ascertain: they were all of them greatly inferior to the modern invention of printing. But there is another invention, which should seem to have been kindly withheld, as far as concerns the safety of free cities. Before the discovery of gunpowder, walls, manfully defended, set at defiance the strongest armies; and though recourse was often had to blockade, yet as corn might be long preserved in most climates inhabited by Greeks, great magazines of it were generally stored up by every community zealous for freedom. The security thereby enjoyed, made such cities the safest asylums both for persons and property. With the little republic of Prienè, Olophernes of Cappadocia intrusted part of his great treasures, which, at his need, was faithfully restored to him. Demetrius Soter sent his two sons to Cnidus, at the moment when he was in danger of losing his life and kingdom. The friends of Seleucus Philopater resided securely at Miletus, after their master's throne had been usurped by the bloodthirsty Antiochus Epiphanes. Arsinöe, rival to Cleopatra, found protection in Ephesus. History presents innumerable facts of this kind; and attests also, as might naturally be expected, that the same republican colonies which extended their concern to persecuted strangers, deprived kings, or disgraced ministers, often displayed the noblest warmth in defence of each other: witness the generous assistance to the Chians by Pontic Heraclæa, when these islanders had provoked the rage of Mithridates; and the firm interposition of Massilia in behalf of the Phocæans, when this people had

⁷⁹ See above, vol. ii. p. 394.

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exasperated Rome, by abetting the pretensions of Andronicus to the throne of Pergamus⁷⁹. Examples of patriotism and prowess not unworthy of the best ages of Greece, occur in the times immediately contiguous to the dominion of the Cæsars. The citizens of Xanthus in Lycia perished to a man, rather than obey the cruel requisitions of the conspirator Brutus. By the assistance of Greek sailors, Sextus Pompey, master only of Sicily, defied the triumvirs with their forty-five legions: his naval descents made Italy almost untenable: he compelled his adversaries to share with him their emoluments and highest honours, and might have maintained this ascendancy, had not his imperious temper provoked and alienated the Grecian commanders in his service.

Causes of
their ruin.

Yet, notwithstanding particular instances of vigour, maladies without remedy afflicted the Greeks in all parts of the world. Without any convulsion of the elements, or any resistless invasion of desolating Barbarians, they had declined in circumstances, and degenerated in character, through the canker of corroding time, or rather through that satiety inseparable from man, and which, however counteracted by wise discipline, perpetually impels him to prefer novelty to excellence. During their heroic royalties, the Greeks had been chiefly governed by religion; in the manhood of their republics, they acknowledged, also, the authority of equal laws; but amidst the dregs of later times, they became the sport of opinions and fashions which set religion and laws at defiance. In addition to this universal and incurable mischief, a peculiar virulence had early infected their maritime republics, stretching above 1,600 miles along the western coast of Asia, and which cannot be estimated at a populousness of less than five millions⁸⁰. When communities, inured to arts and industry, grow up in the vicinity of barbarous or savage nations, they may long preserve, unimpaired, their characteristic ex-

⁷⁹ All these facts are above recorded.

⁸⁰ Cos is called a small city, though it contained from 5,000 to 10,000 Greek inhabitants. Conf. Strabo, l. xix. p. 657. & Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 20. and my

Introduction to Lysias, &c. p. 6 Taking the medium of populousness at 10,000, and limiting the number of cities to the 500 in Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. their collective population will amount to 5,000,000

cellencies; but when similar establishments are formed in countries already civilized and corrupted, the colonists are found by experience too easily to degenerate into natives. The latter was the case with the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia. Phrygians, Lydians, and Syrians were their neighbours: nations noted for voluptuousness, vanity, and perfidy. This contagion is said to have passed from Lesser Asia into Achaia, and to have prepared that once virtuous commonwealth for reduction into the form of a province; at which era the Achæans are branded by their own historians, as men whose integrity the smallest temptation could vanquish, and whose frauds neither shame nor fear could restrain⁸¹. But, without a certain measure at least of good faith, what confederacy can be upheld, what national struggle was ever successfully maintained? Thus did the growing dishonesty of the Greeks, the proud tyranny of the Romans, the barbarous despotism of the Parthians and all succeeding Asiatic dynasties⁸², conspire to defeat the sanguine hopes concerning the improvement of the eastern world, that had been entertained by Alexander, and by him partly realized. In *his* military *chlamys*⁸³ Pompey gloried to triumph: Augustus spared Alexandria for the sake of its founder⁸⁴: his life was read by Trajan⁸⁵, as his statue had been contemplated by Cæsar⁸⁶, with a sigh of humbled ambition. All conquerors admired Alexander; but none, perhaps, have ever had the power, and none, certainly, both the power and the will to imitate his example.

⁸¹ Conf. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco. et Polybius, l. vi. c. 56.

⁸² The revived empire of the Persians succeeded to that of the Parthians, A. D. 226. Agathias, l. ii. p. 63. and was destroyed, with its last king Jesdegird, by the Arabs, A. D. 651. Abulpharagius, Compend. Dynast. p. 116. Conf. D'Herbelot. Artic. Jesdegird. From that time forward, the great central regions of southern Asia have been

governed by different dynasties of Arabs and Tartars down to the present times.

⁸³ This *chlamys* Pompey acquired at Talaura among the spoils of Mithridates. Appian. Mithridat. & Plut. in Pompeio.

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius, l. li. p. 454.

⁸⁵ Julian Cæsares, p. 850.

⁸⁶ Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 7. Conf. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 594, *Καίσαρ φιλαλιξάνδρον*, &c.

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18, line 2 from bottom, for *in* read *on*

24, note 74, *τιγιδες*, read *τηγιδες*.

25, line 7 from bottom, for *ranks*, read *gank*.

— line 13 from bottom, for *fine*, read *free*.

80, line 14, for *Sakara*, read *Sahara*.

95, line 5 from bottom, for *forwardness*, read *frowardness*.

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